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Essays in Aid of the Reform of the Church.

*Edited by Charles Gore, D.D., Canon of Westminster. London :
John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 392.
Price, 10s. 6d.*

THE motto of this extremely interesting volume of Essays appears to be the saying of Dr Johnson, quoted by the editor in his preface, "Shall the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland have its General Assembly, and the Church of England be denied its Convocation?" The editor and his essayists are however aware that while no one denies that, in the last resort at least, the power to govern lies in the laity of what they are pleased to call the "Presbyterian Kirk," the popular idea is that when an Anglican speaks of the self-government of the Church he means the exclusive rule of the clergy. They see that this idea must be got rid of in fact as well as in name before the reforms they wish for can even be demanded. "It is quite certain," says Canon Gore, "that no English Parliament would grant self-government to the Church while the organ of this self-government is purely or almost purely the clergy." And he goes on to declare that the "necessary preliminary to our approaching Parliament with our great request," *i.e.*, for some measure of self-government, "is to agree upon a scheme for giving constitutional representation and authority to the laity in parishes and dioceses."

The volume contains fifteen Essays of various value and written with very varying degrees of Christian charity. The three most interesting to the general reader are those on "General Outlines of Church Reform," by the editor, Canon Gore; "The Position of the Laity in the Early Church," by the Rev. R. B. Backham; and "Self-Government of the Church," by the Hon. and Rev. Arthur Lyttleton. In next importance come the Essays on "Parochial Church Councils," by H. J. Torr, on "Legal and Parliamentary Possibilities," by the Hon. Mr Justice Phillimore, and on the "Reform of Patronage," by Clement Y. Sturge, Barrister-at-Law. All three, like those on "Pensions for the Clergy," by Dean Lefroy, and "The Increase of the Episcopate," by Wilfred S. de Winton, describe matters which need to be reformed in the Anglican Church. Five Essays, "The Principles and Conditions of the Scottish Establishment," by Lord Balfour of Burleigh; the "Position of the Laity in the American (Protestant Episcopal) Church," by the Bishop of Vermont; "Relation of the Laity to Church Govern-

ment in the Province of South Africa"; "Functions of the Laity in the Scottish (Episcopal) Church," and "The Constitution of the Church of Ireland" (we suppose that the printer has forgotten to insert in brackets 'Protestant Episcopal') appear to show the Anglican Reformers the thing they are to strive after. Two Essays might have been better omitted—those of Canon Scott-Holland on "Church and State," and of the Headmaster of Berkhamsted School on "Church Reform and Social Reform" had they not been required to reveal that curious Anglican arrogance which may lurk in certain bland sentences in divers of the other Essays.

Canon Gore's essay is perhaps the most noteworthy in the book. He wishes that the Anglican Church, while remaining established and endowed, should attain to some measure of self-government, and he thinks that the example of the Established Church of Scotland shows that some measure of self-government is possible. To attain this there must be a desire and preparation for it both within and without the Church. He sees the desire and the preparation in various movements which have manifested themselves during the reign of our present Queen. There has for example been a great revival of the corporate life of the Church; it is no longer regarded as merely a department of civil administration. This corporate life is manifesting itself in such revivals of corporate activity as diocesan and Church congresses, and it is generally recognised that a real and genuine Church life is embodied in these assemblies. Then "various circumstances have tended to emphasise the distinction between Church and State"—the recent Parish Councils Act which has removed almost the last vestiges of civil authority from church officers and vestries; the Divorce Act which has set the law of the Church and the law of the State in opposition to each other; the dealings of law courts and of Parliament with theological and ritualistic disputes; and the growing disinclination in the Houses of Parliament to interfere in "properly ecclesiastical or spiritual matters." And those movements are accompanied, Canon Gore thinks, by an increasing readiness on the part of the State to recognise the value of the services of the Church.

The desire for some measure of self-government on the part of the Church is only a natural outcome of these tendencies. But as soon as this reasonable aspiration for self-government comes into view, one practical condition of its realisation immediately confronts us with peremptory urgency. And that is that it is vain to seek any measure of self-government which will remain in the hands of the clergy only. If the Anglican Church is ever to be trusted with self-government the people must have their share.

Canon Gore, however, does not regard the giving the laity a

share in the government of the Church as a matter of mere expediency. Following the high example of the Westminster Divines, he bases the right of the laity to their share in the government of the Church on the great New Testament doctrine of the priesthood of believers, and confirms it by citing the position held by the laity in the Church of the early centuries. He traces in brief but interesting fashion the reasons why the laity came to lose their position, and why the clergy monopolised the government. The usurpation was due, he thinks, to the growing apathy and moral unfitness of the great bulk of nominal Christians, who, when imperial persecution gave place to imperial patronage, formed the great body of the members; to the imperial and feudal ideas of successive ages; to the ignorance of the laity in the Middle Ages when all learning was confined to the "clerks"; and to the love of domination and of having their own way on the part of the clergy, which "is a patent fact in history, and in personal experience." He shows that the mediæval and modern Anglican substitute for the rule of the people or lay members of the Church—viz., the supremacy of the civil authorities—is no real substitute, for the imperial rule is always a mere civil function of the nature of police supervision, and can never take the place of the membership of the Church.

The continual appeal of the Anglican movement has been to the early Church. How then can it be excused for so long neglecting to endeavour to restore the laity of its communion to their early position? The reason, Canon Gore thinks, lies in this, that the rights of the laity were not formally recognised in the early Church in the sense that they were not guaranteed by any canons; but he contends that the reason for this is that canonical legislation only began when imperialist influences were giving an aristocratic or monarchical tendency to all the institutions of a previously democratic Church. "The proposal to co-ordinate laity with clergy in the government of parishes, dioceses and provinces is not a revolutionary measure, but demonstrably a return to the original Christian ideal, a 'reversion to type' of the sort at which the Anglican Church at least is always in all things bound to be aiming."

The outline of the scheme of reformation which Canon Gore traces for the Anglican Church scarcely corresponds with his thought of "reversion to type," for it falls far short of that spiritual democracy which he rightly says was an essential feature of the Church of the New Testament. He does not think, for example, that laymen should have any share "in ecclesiastical deliberations which have for their end the determination of doctrinal questions for the purpose of Church

government"; but, on the other hand, he declares that "no change in ecclesiastical formulas or rubrics should be possible without the consent of the laity." These principles safeguarded, Canon Gore would like to see established a proper ecclesiastical legislature with houses of bishops, presbyters and laity. He would begin with the parish and have a parish council regularly constituted with definite and assigned rights—such as the power to restrain unfit appointments to the parish living, the power in case of the immorality or incompetence of the incumbent to apply to the bishop for his removal; the power to determine the destination of a large part of the collections in the parish church, and, lastly, the power to prevent alterations in the accustomed ritual or mode of worship, supposing it to be quite legal. He would further propose diocesan and provincial councils on which laymen are placed who are elected from the inferior councils.

There remains the constituency which has charge of the selection of the lay representatives on the parish councils, and this seems to be a difficulty both with Canon Gore and some of the other essayists.

One would naturally expect that genuine high Churchmen would insist that the constituency must be the regular communicants, but all the essayists who discuss the question seem to be afraid of such a proposal. They regard with some complacency the condition of the Established Church of Scotland, where the parochial constituency includes, besides communicants, "adherents" who, in the opinion of the kirk-session, have certain defined qualifications; but they seem to think that in England the constituency must be still wider and vaguer, and Mr Torr thinks that all parishioners who have been baptised and confirmed, whether they are communicants or not, should be among the electors. On the other hand, the essayists seem to think that all members of the council ought to be communicants.

I have confined myself to Canon Gore's Essay because the others are very much expansions of its various paragraphs, or are statements of the place occupied by the laity in other Episcopal Churches and in the Established Church of Scotland.

It is almost impossible for a humble member of the Catholic Church *Reformed* to criticise sympathetically the book under review. This can be said, however, that he can thoroughly sympathise with the idea that the British Parliament is not a fit body to decide ecclesiastical matters, and can understand that the present condition of the Church of England reveals "the revived spiritual activity in the body of the Church constantly impeded by features in the external structure and arrangements which

a long and chequered past has handed down to it." When it comes, however, to the practical proposals of reform and the question of measuring how far they will successfully remove the evils which are honestly felt and fretted under, and what chance there is that the English people through their Houses of Parliament will aid the Anglican Church in its endeavours to transform itself into that mixture of hierarchy and spiritual democracy, which, according to the essayists, is its proper "reversion to type," it is difficult for an outsider to estimate their value. Sketch plans of reforms somewhat similar to those contained in the Essays have been heard of before in England, and have been baffled by the combined efforts of bishops and Parliament. In fact the proposals bear some resemblance to those contained in two once famous and now forgotten tracts—one by Archbishop Usher, entitled *The Reduction of Episcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government received in the Ancient Church*, which was in private circulation at least as early as the close of 1640, and was published sometime afterwards; and the other by John Milton, published about the same time. If the proposals of these two pamphlets were carded together, they contain almost all the elements of the proposed reforms of the Essayists. But while it does not seem possible to criticise adequately the ideas of the essayists, one or two things may be said from an outsider's point of view.

The essayists take things too much for granted when they say that Lord Balfour's Essay meets the objection that the "established" position of a Christian body is contradictory to self-government by showing the consistency of the two in Scotland. Those branches of the Catholic Church Reformed which have reverted to what is called the "Presbyterian," or to what may be more properly called the "Conciliar" form of Church government, have never unchurched their neighbours, and would never affirm, as Canon Gore does in the opening sentences of his Essay, that the realisation of the ideal of the Church as "the body of Christ" can only be realised in England through the "only body which can claim to be called the Church of England." Indeed that cry for "undenominationalism," which Canon Scott Holland so arrogantly and offensively scoffs at, is the mute appeal to a Catholicism a great deal deeper and nobler than anything he can dream of. Why "kick against the pricks," when you want to make a fair furrow? Then again Lord Balfour has not told, and indeed space did not allow him to tell, his fellow-essayists everything about the freedom and the self-government of the Scottish Establishment. Perhaps it might be said that there are statutory limitations, hard and fast lines drawn by civil enactment, decisions

entered on the books of the Court of Session and of the House of Lords, which would be required to be reversed before the reality quite corresponds to the picture. But we may pass over that ; for whatever be the limitations to the freedom and self-government of the Scottish Establishment, there is no doubt that it does possess, as a matter of fact, at present, a measure of self-government which would do more than content the views of the essayists. Freedom and self-government are, however, plants of slow growth, and have to be earned by deeds and life as well as by programmes of reform. What Lord Balfour has not taught his admiring pupils is that the comparative freedom of the present Establishment has been won by long contentings, and by one great sacrifice made not much more than half a century ago.

Then again while several of the Essays show the benefits and possibilities of lay participation in the government of the Church in non-established Episcopal Churches, it must be remembered that "the parson's freehold" does not exist there, and that its absence makes a greater difference than can be overcome by Dean Lefroy's State-pension scheme for the clergy of an established Church. In one way of looking at the matter there is no such thing as an established Church of England—I imagine that the Dean of Ripon for one is prepared to admit this—but several thousands of almost independent corporations possessed by privileged persons ; and this fact renders clerical discipline an almost impossible thing, and enables beneficed clergymen to indulge in vagaries of belief and worship which would be tolerated in no Church possessed of the power of self-government. "The parson's freehold" makes the example of non-established Churches of little value for the Church of England.

The most interesting portion of those Essays for the general reader are those which, to use the words of the preface, "meet the common objection to admitting the laity to a share in Church government on the score of Catholic authority, by exhibiting historically the position of the laity in the original constitution of the Church." I have already stated the results of Canon Gore's researches, which are supplemented in the learned Essay of Mr Rackham. Neither the Essay of Mr Rackham nor the paragraphs of Canon Gore contain any facts which we have not known in Scotland for at least three centuries. They are nevertheless startling in their novelty. What is new is that Anglicans have at last found them out. This is an interesting thing, and still more interesting is the declaration that now that they are at last discovered, the appeal which Anglicanism continually makes to the early Church, compels Anglicans at once to begin "to revert to the type." We congratulate Anglicans on the discovery

and on the resolve, and we urge them to persevere in their studies and find out some other essentials of the type to which they are bound to revert.

They have already discovered that the Church of the New Testament and of the early centuries was a spiritual democracy, or, to put it as Canon Gore does, "a hierarchy largely tempered by spiritual democracy." A little further investigation will enable them to see what exactly this "hierarchy" was;—to learn, for example, that, simply because it was so largely tempered by a spiritual democracy, the succession in the "hierarchy" could not have been a merely external thing but must have lain in the living spiritual democracy which so largely "tempered" it. They will discover that the primitive bishops had spiritual or ecclesiastical functions of which they are now deprived, and that the episcopal office, in virtue of the imperialist and feudal influences so justly deprecated by the essayists, has been greatly overlaid with functions which it never possessed in the early days. For example, bishops have been deprived of the exclusive charge of presiding at the celebration of the sacraments; and diocesan functions unknown to the early Church have been imposed upon them. They will find that Mr de Winton's appeal for an increase of the episcopate has been conceived in by far too modest a spirit, and that a bishop must be asked for every parish in England; and that there he ought to be surrounded by his "coronal" of "presbyters" (we keep the Greek word—it is sometimes translated) as Ignatius of Antioch says. It is probable also that Canon Gore will discover that when he says "when men are once set apart for the sacred offices it is the business of the Church as a whole to provide them with the necessities of life," he is still ensnared with those mediæval and feudal ideas he so justly deprecates. That *sacerdotium* involves *beneficium* is a mediæval and not a primitive ideal. If Mr Rackham turns to the *Bul. Cor. Hel.*, vii. 23 ff., he will find an interesting set of grave-stone inscriptions—the records of an early Christian community in the little town of Corycus, which can scarcely be earlier than the fifth, and not later than the sixth, century—one of which notes the burial-place of a master-potter, and another that of a goldsmith, both of whom were presbyters. The power of the laity in the early Church did not depend only on the various facts mentioned by Mr Rackham, such as that they chose the office-bearers and had some indefinite influence over councils, but also on the fact that in the very earliest times none of the office-bearers, and for centuries not all of the office-bearers or clergy, depended on the Church as a whole to provide them with the necessities of life. They were clergy in virtue of their election to office and of their ordination, but they

worked at trades, carried on merchandise and had daily association in all the ordinary affairs of life with the laity. They held what seems to modern and mediæval episcopal Churches a most anomalous position, and one scarcely to be understood. When the type is reverted to, as it is in all Presbyterian Churches, Episcopalians commonly speak of these office-bearers as lay-men, and call them lay-elders and lay-deacons, as if an ecclesiastical stipend were an essential element of ordination, or to put it mediævally, as if there could be no *sacerdotium* without *beneficium*. It is a sign of grace in several of the essayists that they recognise that elders or presbyters and deacons in Presbyterian Churches are ordained. They do not see that this feature in the ecclesiastical system of the early Church knit clergy and laity together in a very thorough and yet a very simple fashion, and brought men, whose life and callings made them feel as laymen do, within the "hierarchy" which ruled, and prevented it becoming a clerical caste. The "reversion to type" to which the Anglican Church is pledged is best illustrated in the ecclesiastical rule of some Scotch country parish, presided over by its bishop, who is surrounded by his "coronal" of presbyters and deacons, one of whom may be a Secretary of State, another a farmer, and a third an artizan—perhaps a goldsmith or a potter as was the case in Corycus. THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

**Dynamic Idealism : An Elementary Course in the
Metaphysics of Psychology.**

*By Alfred H. Lloyd, Ph.D. Chicago : M'Clurg, 1898. Cr. 8vo.
\$1.00.*

THE author tells us that "the true thinker must, of course, always pass quite beyond the understanding of ordinary life. He cannot use terms as he finds them used about him. In fact, in a very real sense, his duty is to use them differently, that is, more deeply and widely, with reference to their underlying meanings instead of to their obvious and superficial applications."

Whether he himself uses terms more deeply and widely may be open to question, but certainly he uses them differently; and the result is bewildering. His book, it appears, was first delivered in substance as lectures "before students in philosophy at the University of Michigan," and one hopes that their interest in the subject—not to say their reason—has survived the strain. It is not that the author's style is naturally obscure. When he becomes practical, in the sense of applying his views to some aspect of conduct, there are passages—and even whole chapters—in which he is as terse and clear as could be wished. Nor is it that he

uses many hard or new words. He says justly that he has "tried to avoid serious technicalities." But, for the most part, the difficulty of his language is only surpassed by the eccentricity of his thought. The former, indeed, is the result of the latter. Language is convulsed under the effort to make it express what is so out-of-the-way. Yet the truth involved in the author's central doctrine is neither new nor strange. There is nothing novel in the view that no object is isolated, that it stands related to its whole environment, that its relations are intimate, universal, organic.

Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies.
I hold you here, root and all, in my hand
Little flower—but *if* I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is.

But according to our author, "the very essence of meaning, indeed the primary test of reality is relationship. A thing is real in proportion to the measure of the universe that is discoverable in it. Multiplicity of relations is what makes for substantiality." He anticipates the natural objection. Surely "there is a wide difference between saying that things are relations and that things are related. Were they only relations, there could be no real things, no terms of relation, only pure formal relationship. A world of mere relations must be impossible, since there must be things, definite, real, substantial, among which the formal relationship prevails." So it seems to the ordinary mind. But then the ordinary mind has not grasped the fact that "relationship is not formal, but dynamic." Apparently what this means is, that the nature of things and of all things is force, and the same force. Name such force how you please—life, intelligence, will, feeling, mind, matter—it is everywhere, it is everywhere identical, it is the whole of what really is; and by "intrinsic necessity" it is relational. Systems of relation of varied complexity, and together constituting the universe, exhaust the total sum of being. Some remarkable consequences follow. Thus (1) there is no *inorganic*. For "the meaning of the inorganic is simply that life is larger and deeper than has yet been realised; that the living forms which have been recognised are, after all, only organs in an including organic life. Put paradoxically, the meaning of the inorganic is nothing more nor less than that reality is essentially organic." Hence (2) everything is alive. "In the world of related things, or rather of things as relations, there is present necessarily the very spontaneity to self-expression which, as manifest in certain special forms, is called life. The world of change is a living

world." And (3) life implies consciousness. The two, in fact, are identical—recent science itself being witness. For "in simple phrases, life can be present only where there is capacity of a self-interested response to an outer stimulus, that is, only where the stimulus to an action answers to some already developed motive or functional tendency; and consciousness is but the apprehension of, or the interest in, such a stimulus. Without consciousness, life is impossible." Moreover (4) if things are conscious, they must be said to think. "Plants live, it is said; animals are also conscious, although only passively so; but men think, being self-conscious, actively conscious, constructively and relationally conscious. Yet such distinctions, while not without meaning, can only rather hinder than help the understanding. If it is true that wherever there is life there is consciousness, it is also true that wherever there is consciousness there is thought. What is thought in its simplest nature but the use of consciousness for some act of adjustment? In all life, however, even in the very lowest, such a use is manifest. A passive consciousness, a consciousness that is not seeking adjustment, is a contradiction of terms that can be matched only by an unconscious life. Yes, if we will but interest ourselves in principles, freeing our minds for a time from the notions of ordinary life, we can say to ourselves with conviction that even plants are conscious, and that the very animals think." So we get light on the words which face the title-page by way of summary.

"Relationship among things is the criterion neither of a life nor of a mind that exists apart from the substance of the universe. It is, however, the criterion of substance itself, and as the central truth about things it bears this witness: *The universe itself lives; the universe itself thinks.*"

An important question is—how does the author reach his position? He answers—"the special science through which in this book an entrance is to be made into the field of philosophy" is Psychology. But it must be remembered that Psychology is "not, as many have tried to make it, a merely ontological science; nor is it a merely epistemological science: it is distinctly a biological science. It is not interested in the self only as being, in the self as a substantially and independently existing soul; nor yet in the self only as knowing, in the self as mere mind: it is interested in the self as living and doing." Psychology is science of self-expression. This is arbitrary, but letting it pass we ask—what is the *self*? Well, "the soul or self to-day is not some entity, spiritual in character in the sense of being altogether immaterial, but an intimate function of the world in which it finds itself. The self is both in and of the world, responsible to the world and

dependent upon it." It is Aristotle's "entelechy." It is "the fulfilment of the world, the perfection of the body." "In short, the world's *activity*—that is the self, that is the soul." If, then, we study the world's activity—not exclusively, it would seem, as manifested in human beings—we are studying Psychology or the soul; and if this activity is found to express itself in a system of organic relations, we have there "the meaning of the world, the inner truth of the natural universe." Surely a somewhat 'lame and impotent conclusion.' For it begs the very question which Psychology, on its metaphysical side, seeks to determine: *what* is the human soul? Dr Lloyd claims to be "heartily in sympathy with such thinkers to-day as insist that Psychology without metaphysics is useless, if not absurd." He even goes the length of asserting his belief "that real psychology *is* metaphysics." But our quarrel with him is that he is not metaphysical enough: that there is no real depth or grasp in his thought about man, and the mysteries suggested by his personality.

We may take as a conspicuous example his 'Study of Immortality.' He deals with the subject in two places—in the chapter on 'body, mind, and soul,' and in a supplementary appendix. It is—as he sees—forced upon his consideration. For "dynamic Idealism" says that body, mind, and soul are one, not three. "Body, as distinct, is only an abstraction for the soul's manifoldness or differentiation; mind, for the unity of the self; and soul, for the substantial reality." But how can this consist with the hope of immortality? The body dies; and can then the soul live on? The body, however, does not really die. It decays, and the decay at last seems to become absolute. But decay is merely another name for rearrangement or readjustment of relations. "Life is in very truth the deeper meaning of death." Death, the process of decay completed, is only the negative side of a change which the organic, as a living system of relations, necessarily undergoes. "An organism, as some specific portion of matter, large or small," does indeed vanish, "but the organic is immortal." And individuality—does this survive? Assuredly. "Dynamic Idealism, although identifying matter and spirit, still holds that the individual, in respect to just that which makes him substantial, in respect to his relationship, is immortal. The individual's immortality, however, is not in a life in some other place; it is not, as some Christians still imagine, in a Heaven located they know not where, nor, as metempsychosis has put it, in other unsuspected parts of the known universe; it does not depend at all upon a mere change of place. Instead of being an escape, complete or partial, from this world's responsibilities it is the ever-deepening expression of ever-present, of an ever-assertive character." So we are immortal now and here. "Individuals

neither die nor come into being." We live on as a nation does. It dies in one place or seems to die ; but it revives elsewhere, as Greece did in her colonies or in the spirit of Rome. We, too, seem to die, but the organic relations we represent are undying ; and so—with the trifling omission of that personal consciousness to which the fond heart clings—we are immortal.

The author claims for his view that it is scientific and satisfying. He claims that it is significant of what he calls the new era or new dynasty upon which human thought and life are entering. The Platonism which declared the soul immortal on the ground that it is a separate entity—simple and indivisible—has had its day. So has the Christianity which, under Plato's influence, anticipates a future life unshared by the body. He even ventures to claim that his doctrine is alone genuinely Christian. For "Christianity came as a protest against Plato's standpoint. Apart from its theological terms, it was a doctrine of life on earth, of the spiritual as not only in but also of the physical, of the simple and immortal as in some real way not opposed to the physical and mortal, of this world and the other world as not two but one."

There is, of course, truth in this. Christ did teach, what His followers have too much forgotten, that eternal life is a present and actual possession. He did teach, especially by the character of His Resurrection, that the life to come belongs to the whole man—body, mind, and soul ; nor is there in the New Testament a hint of immortality for the soul alone. But it is vain for Dr Lloyd to suggest any real affinity between his doctrine and that of Christ. For did not Christ, by constant implication and by emphatic speech, recognise the persistence of just that personal conscious identity which the new theory would dissipate ? And did He not relate the future of men to the differences evolved by their moral history in a way the new theory seems entirely to ignore ? Moreover, did He not find a place for God as the fountain of life on which men are now and ever dependent, whereas Dr Lloyd takes no account of God at all ? We cannot say, then, that his doctrine is satisfactory, though it may be scientific. It wears an air of profundity, but it is comparatively shallow ; and is so because, with all his talk about the soul, he has failed in his analysis of its deeper nature and needs. When, therefore, we ask for bread, he offers a stone.

And as to his general position, we dare to think that it is but another case of philosophical shipwreck through the craving for an absolute principle of knowledge. Dualism is Dr Lloyd's bugbear. That any thing in science or theology has a Dualistic tendency is its sufficient condemnation. He must find a point of view from which the universe of reality can be thoroughly interpreted. And

perhaps there is such a point—nay, there certainly is. But it is for God alone. We know in part. Our knowledge may be real so far as it goes, and may be always growing. It is, however, at the last and best, confronted by the infinitely unknown. Nor is a philosopher any the less philosophic for meekly recognising the fact.

FRED. J. POWICKE.

Thomas Reid.

By A. Campbell Fraser. *Famous Scots Series. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Pp. 160. Price, 1s. 6d.*

Les Origines de la Psychologie Contemporaine.

Par D. Mercier. *Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, Louvain, 1897; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. xii. 486. Price, F.5.*

Geschichte der Philosophie.

Von Dr W. Windelband, *Professor an der Universität zu Strassburg. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1898; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Erste Lieferung. 8vo, pp. 144. Price, M.3.*

IN writing this short account of Reid, Professor Campbell Fraser has performed a congenial task in a pleasing and instructive way. The human interest of Reid's career is sympathetically conveyed, and the account of his thought is lucid and helpful to the student. It is not every man of mark of whom a not inadequate account could be rendered within the compass of so small a book. But Reid's was a simple life and a comparatively simple philosophy; and the little book leaves an impression of completeness which is not given by some other sketches of philosophical classics, with which it might be compared. Born in 1710 and educated at Aberdeen, Reid passed his whole life in Scotland. His public history is exhausted by the mention of his three appointments—minister of New Machar, near Aberdeen, 1737-1751; regent in King's College, Aberdeen, 1751-1764; and Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, 1764-1796. He was engaged in no controversies and did no public actions, save bringing out his books and delivering his lectures. Of his uneventful, happy private life, Professor Fraser, with the help of letters and family records, gives a slight but sufficient and pleasing picture. Reid was emphatically a good man, and such have usually but little private history.

Nor, though Reid's collected works form a volume of respectable

bulk, can it be said that his philosophy is of a complex nature "The philosophy of perception and the philosophy of causation—our common sense of extended reality in our first intercourse with it in the senses, and our common-sense conception of 'power' and 'cause' which arises in the presence of the changes amidst which we live and have our being—these were the two poles of Reid's philosophical life." Such is Professor Fraser's judicious remark; and it is true that such of Reid's opinions as are best worth remembering centre round these two subjects, our notion of external reality and our notion of power. The first is the topic of his *Inquiry into the Human Mind*. There he protests against the 'ideal scepticism' of David Hume. The fundamental mistake of this scepticism, he argues, is to assume that the mind first of all finds itself in possession of sensations and afterwards on the basis of these sensations concludes to a belief in external reality. No, says Reid; the belief in external reality is there from the very first. Similarly with the notion of power. We do not get the notion by any inferential process. We know it intuitively as an immediate inner experience. It is not reasonable, as the materialists hold, that we should interpret human causation on the analogy of natural forces. We know nothing directly about the causal meaning of the changes in physical nature. We can only read causal meaning into those changes by virtue of that notion of power which we derive from our inward experience.

Professor Fraser's estimate of the general value and merit of Reid's thinking is, as might be expected, a high one. In this opinion there concurs a no less eminent authority, Professor Pringle-Pattison, whose *Scottish Philosophy* is in large measure devoted to Reid. In that return from Hegelianism to a more personal interpretation of experience, which is so noticeable in present-day thinking, it was inevitable that Reid should gain largely in appreciation. For Reid in his vindication of common sense is above all the champion of personal conviction, that conviction which asserts man's self-identity, his grasp of eternal reality, and his power as an originating cause. To discuss the validity of this appreciation of Reid would raise a wide question and pass beyond the limits of the little work before us. We can only say that whereas formerly Reid was praised too little, we think he is now praised too much. Though this over-praise springs from a sound principle, the emphasis on personal experience, it seems to have been carried further than a candid criticism would justify.

There is just one point which may be mentioned in support of this opinion, the more appropriately as Professor Fraser has devoted his last chapter to it, we mean the influence of Reid upon his immediate successors. That influence was, upon any showing,

inconsiderable. Reid was succeeded by Dugald Stewart, who assimilated him, and then by Thomas Brown, who attacked him. "After Brown, philosophy in Scotland was for a time dormant—superseded by Combe and phrenology." Various explanations of this fact may doubtless be given, but we fear it is due, in some measure at least, to the unprogressive quality of Reid's system. This may be illustrated by the main argument of his first and freshest work, the *Inquiry into the Human Mind*. The question then, as we have said, is how do we get our notion of and instinctive belief in external reality. Reid's answer is very simple: God gives it us. Out of sensation, he argues, we could never get the real objects which we believe to be the cause of it. Sensation and real object are totally dissimilar, as dissimilar as pain is to the point of a sword. Seeing no other alternative, he attributes to the divine intervention both the belief in external reality and its specific content in the minds of men. "The inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding." Such is the motto of Reid's "Inquiry." Now this conclusion is calculated to paralyse philosophic curiosity. It supplies a ready-made answer to every problem which looks insoluble. It puts an end to all attempts to show how the human spirit co-operates in the construction of its world. It also led Reid into some strange psychological paradoxes; for example, that a blind man's conception of the external world is practically identical with that of one who sees. For, he says, we do not get that conception from sensation, and except in the matter of sensation the blind and the seeing are on the same level. On a fair perusal it is manifest that the aim of Reid's inquiry is preponderantly religious. It is a form of religion which does not detract from his character as a man, though it does from his character as a philosopher. For there is one kind of religion which kills philosophy and another which gives it life. We are inclined to think that Reid's is of the former kind; and that is why he was not a vitalising influence in the minds of those after him who were trying to understand experience.

Professor Mercier, who teaches at the Roman Catholic University of Louvain, has already published several philosophical works and has others in preparation. His activity is typical of the vigour with which the Neo-Thomist thinkers, to whom he belongs, are pushing their views in the Roman Catholic world. They have other writers no less active than Professor Mercier; the *Revue Néo-Scolastique* represents their point of view; they claim to be the chief intellectual force in Belgium and to possess considerable influence in France, Germany, and Italy. Their opinions accordingly invite study from those who are interested in the development of Roman Catholic thought. Indeed the work before us commands

attention less by virtue of its contribution to psychology than by the information it gives of the progress of liberal opinions within a Church which is not supposed to be friendly to them.

A great part of the book is naturally devoted to history and criticism. The author describes the rise of modern psychology in Descartes. A fair statement and criticism of the Cartesian principles is given, and it is shown how they developed into occasionalism and Spinozism. Then follows a statement of contemporary psychology as it is taught by Herbert Spencer, Fouillée, and Wundt. In the central chapter of his book entitled *Psychologie et Anthropologie* the author sets forth his own position, which is, he claims, that of Aristotle and the Doctors of the School. "The essence of the human soul is not to think, *i.e.* to exercise the act of thought, nor even to have the power of thinking or knowing, even in the most rudimentary sense of the term; the primordial function of the soul is to inform the substance of the body, to "animate" it, *i.e.* to make it live, to organise it, and to render it apt to exercise the functions of the sensuous life proportionately to the development of the organism." From the standpoint of this dualistic view of man's nature the author in successive chapters criticises idealism, mechanical materialism, and positivism.

The last chapter, which is also the most interesting, gives a brief history of scholasticism after its culmination in the thirteenth century, and an account of its revival at the present day under the patronage of Leo XIII. The author protests strongly that there is no bigotry in the Neo-Thomist movement. It accepts gladly all the help procurable from the study of experience and history. "We claim our part in Plato, Descartes, Leibniz, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Wundt as fully perhaps and certainly as sincerely as those who count us as their enemies." "There is not a Catholic philosopher who would not be ready to sacrifice a theory centuries old on the very day when it was proved to contradict an observed fact. For we also are accustomed to take observation as starting-point, as the main-spring of research, source of truth, and sovereign mistress of knowledge." These are words of enlightenment and progress. It is to be hoped that such principles will continue to spread through the body of the Roman Church and to find favour with the chiefs of its government.

We have also the first instalment of the second edition of Professor Windelband's valuable history of philosophy. A period of eight years has elapsed since its first appearance, and during that interval it has been translated into English. It is generally agreed that the first portion of the work is the best, and for this reason probably the author has confined himself in the main to changes in

the literary expression. Against the later sections of the first edition a good deal of adverse criticism was directed. For that reason it seems advisable to wait for the later instalments before offering further comment on this second edition.

HENRY STURT.

La Morale Chrétienne.

Par A. Gretillat, Professeur (1894) de Théologie à la Faculté Indépendante de Neuchâtel. Neuchâtel : Attinger frères, 1898 ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. Tome premier, 8vo, pp. 559. Price, F.8.50.

IT is a matter for congratulation that the lamented Professor Gretillat left his last work practically ready for the press, and that the promised publication of another volume of his *Christian Ethics* will complete (in six volumes) the *System of Theology* which was his life-work and will remain as his monument.

The Protestant and evangelical theologians of French Switzerland occupy a respectable and interesting place in the theological literature of the day. They appear to the present writer to compare favourably with the 'mediating' theologians of Germany. Their attempts to reconcile traditional views with modern knowledge and scientific methods seem to be marked by more tact, and by an instinctive sense of where to stop. The German 'Vermittler' has often offended against our sense of probability, and even tickled our sense of humour, by his laborious special pleadings ; and by the exaggerated seriousness of his efforts, with an over-strained verbal logic, to find a place in the 'system' for every detail of the orthodox tradition. The Swiss Protestants who write in French present a pleasing combination of German depth and thoroughness with the moderation and felicity characteristic of French writers. In literary quality, also, the works of this school stand high among theological writings ; and their perfect lucidity, and a certain lightness of touch, make them delightful reading.

The Swiss professors, however, are more distinguished by freshness and independence of thought than by learning. To this rule Gretillat was no exception. For his knowledge even of standard German and English writers he evidently depended upon others, while showing the quickness of his race in his apprehension of the sense and bearing of every theory. Not being overweighted with learning, the school enjoys the compensating advantages of ease and simplicity in thought and expression. The Swiss have a practical interest in all their speculations, like the English ; and, in their theological studies, a sincere and undisguised piety. They are in

no sense theory-ridden. Vinet has left many disciples. His followers, like him, take a line of their own : never startling, their thought is perhaps the more truly original, and its outcome is a restrained and sober, if sometimes rather colourless, eclecticism.

M. Gretillat was well fitted for the task which he set before himself, for he possessed an admirably systematic mind. And the present work, although perhaps too slight in its treatment, and not sufficiently exhaustive of details, to be accepted as a text-book in Ethics for students of theology, yet by its correct determination of method, its sound and logical divisions, and its clear view of the mutual relations of Ethics and Theology in the scientific encyclopaedia, almost deserves that position.

His view of Ethics will be sufficiently indicated by quoting his definition of it as a science "imperative, not descriptive." It is, he says, essentially not the analysis of what is or has been, but the analysis of an ideal. There is such a thing as a science of human nature—of actual human custom, actual human motive ; but this, although the claim has been made for it to be the true 'scientific ethics,' and although for all forms of Determinism it is the whole of ethical science, is not for M. Gretillat in the strict sense, or by itself, ethical science at all. It is a subsidiary department of Ethics. The proper subject of Ethics, however, is not what is, but what 'ought to be.' Ethical science, like moral life and thought, of which it is the corrected and systematised expression, rises continually from experience towards an ideal, from what is towards what ought to be : it is the progressive determination of an ideal. Rejecting the misleading associations of the words *ἦθος* and *mos*, which always tend to bind down ethics or moral science to a historical and psychological analysis of custom and motive, M. Gretillat accepted M. Secretan's definition of the purpose of Ethics—"Préciser les traits d'un idéal, montrer en quelle mesure et par quels moyens il est possible de s'y conformer" : "Nous prenons le terme de morale au sens consacré par l'usage, comme un ensemble de préceptes ou de conseils." He denied to a determinist account of human life the right to use the name of Ethics ; such a science will be a branch of physics, a prolongation of physiology or psychology, a philosophy of history or a Dogmatic, according to the elevation of its point of view : 'Le mode impératif, essentiel à notre discipline, y fera complètement défaut . . . Nier la liberté, identifier le possible avec le réel, définir ce qui est comme l'expression absolue de ce qui doit être, c'est nier non seulement l'ordre moral, mais la science moral.' Accordingly he stated thus his definition of Ethics : "La science morale sera donc essentiellement impérative et subsidiairement seulement descriptive ; l'objet de cette science n'est, selon nous, le fait, que pour autant qu'il est la réalisation normale

de l'idée ou de la loi ; ce qui est, en tant que manifestation de ce qui doit être."

From this point of view M. Gretillat drew the distinction between Ethics and Dogmatic Theology. Ethics and Theology seem to overlap to some extent ; a part of their subject-matter they have in common. The human conscience, first of all, with its ideal is regarded by Theology as being of Divine creation, and the reflection of the Divine character. The character of Christ, again, is the subject both of Ethics and of Theology—appearing to the latter in the light of a Divine Revelation. Once more, human moral life is considered by Theology as in a general way the work of God, and, historically, as the fruit of Divine revelations. In particular, the lives of Christians are so regarded by Christian theology. M. Gretillat did not call attention to the first named points of contact, but he noticed the identity of subject-matter in Ethics and in that part of Theology which is called Soteriology. He made the distinction that in its treatment of this subject-matter, that is of Christian life, Dogmatic Theology is descriptive, Ethics imperative: "*Le caractère de l'une de ces disciplines est historique et descriptif, celui de l'autre, impératif*" (p. 99 ; *cf.* p. 115).

The distinction, however, thus justly drawn, raises the question, in what sense Ethics can be included as a department of Theology at all ; in other words, whether there be such a thing as "theological Ethics." The fact of Theology being concerned in part with the subject-matter of Ethics does not decide the question, as Gretillat admitted in distinguishing Ethics from Dogmatic. The truth is that Theology concerns itself with the subjects and is affected by the results of all the sciences : the doctrine, for example, of God's operations in nature requires a generally correct (or scientific) view of natural facts ; but astronomy, geology, and biology are not on that account included as parts of theology. And although the contribution of ethical science to theology is even more significant and vital, still Ethics is not a branch of theology. M. Gretillat showed his apprehension of this fact when he distinguished Ethics from Dogmatic Theology ; although inconsistently, as it would seem, he still included Ethics in 'Systematic Theology.' The distinction between 'Systematic' and 'Dogmatic' Theology is surely meaningless. Dogmatic Theology is theology proper. And theology, while concerned in its own way with human moral life, and vitally indebted to ethical science, is not therefore itself Ethics, nor is Ethics a part of it.

It is prejudicial to any science, when theological considerations *à priori* are allowed to interfere with its independent development ; while on the other hand scientific (or true) knowledge must be in every sphere favourable to a true theology. If, however, the

inclusion of Ethics as such in theology be a confusion of thought, and the conception of 'theological ethics' an illegitimate conception (since there is really no such discipline), it must be admitted that M. Gretillat did not permit extraneous considerations to disturb the ethical enquiry; and that while he conceived the ideal in a religious, and, specifically, in a Christian spirit, he rested his arguments and criticisms on ethical grounds; and in seeking to establish Theism as the postulate of morality proceeded from the necessary nature of moral obligation. Apart from its inclusion in a so-called 'System of Theology,' *La Morale Chrétienne* may claim to be considered as an independent study of Ethics, unbiassed by dogmatic prejudice.

Coming to the *division* of the subject, M. Gretillat unhesitatingly rejected the time-honoured rubric of "duties, virtues, and goods," as being not only illogical but misleading. The distinction in question was, he said, a purely abstract one: it was not a real division of the subject-matter, but consisted only in looking at the same subject-matter from different points of view. A treatment framed on these lines could not fail to repeat itself. Take for example any single virtue or duty, such as 'the love of God.' 'C'est une vertu, sans doute, puisque c'est une disposition intérieure et une force morale. Mais c'est aussi un devoir, puisque c'est une vertu à acquérir, à faire valoir, à augmenter, à reconquérir; et c'est en même temps un bien, en tant que cette vertu ne se présente jamais que produite par un acte moral antérieur' (p. 102). To isolate "duty," "virtue," or "good" is not only to produce confusion of thought, but to countenance error: to speak of duty apart from an internal disposition is externalism; virtue, again, is never to be regarded as a mere psychological fact, for it is never a merely natural endowment, but always in one aspect a result, in another aspect an ideal, of moral effort (duty); while that only is a moral "good" which is at the same time a moral state and a productive moral energy ('*Tout bien moral, tout produit d'une force morale, à moins de se convertir en capital mort, doit aussitôt se transformer en vertu, en force morale nouvelle*').

M. Gretillat accordingly proposed a new arrangement of ethical discussion. If Ethics be the rules of an art, or the analysis of an ideal, its first question must be the question of the end of life—the general question of the conditions to which a conception of that end must conform, and the approximate determination of that ideal. The fundamental part of Ethics, then, is "Teleology," and so M. Gretillat named the first section of his work, which is the section completed in the present volume.

Under the head of Teleology, various theories of morals are passed in review. The so-called "naturalistic" explanations of

moral ideas as the result of a process of psychological evolution are regarded as not being in the proper sense *ethical* theories at all. Ethics, as already explained, is understood to be an account of the *end* of human life which it is wholly beyond the province of psychology or of any other branch of natural history to supply : to that problem any hypothesis of the formation of ethical ideas from non-ethical elements is strictly irrelevant. Optimism and pessimism, in like manner, as conclusions drawn from a balancing of pleasure and pain have no direct ethical interest, except it be on a eudaimonistic view of the end of life. Eudaimonism itself, however, falls to be examined as an ethical theory ; the conclusion at which M. Gretillat arrives is that the End it proposes does not possess those features which can on general grounds (*à priori*) be determined as necessarily belonging to the End of man. It is next asked whether the end of life may be intellectual achievement or æsthetic satisfaction ; and the twofold enquiry leads to a searching and timely criticism of contemporary ethical programmes—those namely of the devotees of pure science and of the ' Art for Art's sake ' school.

It must be admitted that in approaching the ethics of philosophical Idealism M. Gretillat came to the part of his task for which he possessed the least equipment, and in which he achieved the least success. He conceived it to be necessary in the interest of religion to contest the "independence" of Ethics. In defence of the absoluteness and authority of the moral law he disputed the autonomy of the conscience. How, he asked (p. 201), can a self-imposed law have an absolute obligation ? And again he described the principle of an ideal "self-realisation of Reason" as the inane and barren assertion of the law of identity, and as reducing morality to the futile and unethical precept, "Be what you are" (p. 221) ; or alleged that the doctrine of a self-imposed end of human nature meant a simple identification of nature and end, and thus the abandonment of the ethical standpoint altogether (p. 235). But such criticisms grossly beg the question, and ignore the essential characteristics of human spiritual life.

It is a dangerous line of argument that seeks to base religious belief on a denial of the rights of conscience. The truth is that the relation of religion and morality is a twofold relation. An absolute morality postulates religion ; but, also, the idea of God is the reflection of the moral idea. M. Gretillat, indeed, arbitrarily confines the name of religion to the acceptance of a moral relation to God (p. 262) ; it would be truer to say that religion in itself is the sense of a *natural* relation to supreme Power, which needs an instant and continued elevation and purification ; and that the history of the idea of God is the history of its progressive moralisation, of the gradual correction of unworthy elements in it—the history (let us

rather say) of the Divine Spirit's own action in conscience upon men's thoughts of Him and attitude towards Him. M. Gretillat affirms that man's end is to live for the ends of God. How, then, do we know what those ends are? What voice shall tell us but the voice of conscience? We shall not make ethics religious by erecting an antagonism between the Ideal of Reason and the Law of God. Rather we shall only lower the ethical sanction and lose the true knowledge of God if we draw an abstract distinction between two which are really one. We are not taking the best way to enthrone Conscience as the Voice of God, in first denying that Conscience has any inherent right to speak.

Nor is Ethics any the less independent because it is Christian. All true Ethics now is Christian Ethics. Christ, to the theologian, is the disclosure of the Character of God; Christ's moral ideas, His way of life, His character, are also, inevitably, a part of the data of Ethics. But this great possession of the Character of Christ does not, as M. Gretillat seems to suggest (p. 57), alter essentially the task of ethical science. We may believe that the moral ideal was realised in Him—that is, in a perfect spirit and intention. In another aspect the ideal is still to be realised—namely, in applying His spirit to all the details and particulars of human relations: a work in which there is ample room, as for moral effort, so also for ethical reflection. Again, even in the sense in which the ideal was realised by Christ, His example is not yet perfectly understood by us. It is a familiar truth, that the Character of Christ though given to us is not yet apprehended by us. That apprehension is our ethical task; and it is a corollary of the belief in Christ's Divinity that the Example of Christ will only be perfectly appreciated in that moment when the (ethical) analysis of the moral ideal is completely performed—for the two are one. Meanwhile the Character of Christ remains the moral inheritance of humanity, as do also, in their lower degree, other examples of virtue. But if there were no more room for independent ethical reflection because the Example of Christ is before us, then Ethics would become—what M. Gretillat insisted that it is not—a 'descriptive' science; for it would simply describe the Character of Christ. This, however, as it has been already said, is not so easy: to describe Christ would be to have apprehended the ideal. The truth is that Ethics while essentially idealistic or 'imperative' has also, as M. Gretillat admits, its descriptive side ('subsidiarement descriptive') and rises towards the ideal on a foundation and on a steadily growing structure of experience; and it is perhaps in this sense that we may hold at once that Ethics is independent and progressive, and that it rests upon a Christian basis; and may accept such an affirmation as the following of a Christian basis for ethical science: "*L'Ethique chrétienne* . . .

resterait incomplète enfin, privée de toute sanction tirée de l'expérience, et suspecte d'idéalisme, si elle n'avait pas à nous présenter le bien déjà réalisé en la personne de Christ et en celle de ces disciples . . . étant donné d'ailleurs que tout bien moral actuellement acquis crée incontinent et incessamment pour l'agent moral des obligations toujours nouvelles et toujours plus étendues" (p. 57). It is in respect of His humanity that the character of Christ falls within the scope and subject-matter of Ethics; His Divinity belonging to Theology.

We may cite in support of this general view of the subject M. Gretillat's excellent statements on the relation of non-Christian to Christian morality. He will not admit (to put it in a summary way) a difference in kind between Christian morality and that which is not Christian. This would imply that moral obligation does not lie with its full binding force upon those outside the Christian pale; it would countenance the extreme into which some theologians have fallen in holding that 'natural' goodness is not real goodness, and no better than specious sin—a doctrine which violates moral feeling by leaving no room outside Christianity for moral distinctions or for a recognition of degrees of virtue and vice: finally, this view admits the possibility of contradiction between the Christian ideal and the natural dictates of conscience. On the other hand, Gretillat rejects equally the view (Schleiermacher's) that the contents of Christian and pre-Christian morality are the same, and they only differ in respect of the form or means by which they are established—by 'nature' that is, or by revelation. The view he himself suggests, of 'natural' and Christian morality, is that they are stages of development. There are stages or degrees in morality, which differ, according as the ideal is more or less completely revealed, more or less completely recognised; in another sense they are the same, as it is one ideal which is gradually disclosed. Our Lord in many sayings fully recognised the reality of natural goodness and its value as a preparation for His higher teaching. There is thus an integral connection between the lower and the higher revelations of God and of the moral ideal. Natural moral knowledge (as St Paul affirmed) imposes a real responsibility; although on the other hand, according to the words of our Lord, responsibility is proportionate to knowledge. Natural morality shares the imperfection of the religion to which it belongs; and Christian morality fulfils and corrects that of nature. "Le dilemme posé par Schleiermacher—ou les deux morales sont égales, et alors l'une est superflue, ou elles sont différentes et alors contradictoires—n'épuise pas toutes les possibilités. Elles peuvent être différentes, mais graduées, l'une étant préparatoire à l'autre qui est accomplie et parfaite. *Oui, la*

morale est absolue, mais la révélation de la morale ne l'est pas." Christian and natural morality can never come into conflict unless either the latter pretend to be sufficient, which it can only do by lowering the requirements of goodness to man's capacity and thus really contradicting conscience itself; or a mistaken interpretation of Christian morals deny in some way the rights and obligations of human nature (pp. 47-56).

The section called 'Teleology' includes further two sub-sections—the Doctrine of the Moral Law and the Doctrine of Duties. The former analyses the process of thought by which the ideal presents itself to the moral subject as law, and follows the relation of the subject to that law ('marche pédagogique de la loi') through the various phases usually signalised in works of this kind—namely, (1) life without Law, whether (a) in an ideal state of innocence and in the childhood of Christ or (b) in the relative innocence of the pagans, the patriarchs, and generally of the childhood of the world; (2) life under Law, (a) as ideally possible and as realised in Christ, (b) in an actual state of sin, in which the Law may be perverted into an evil influence, yet is truly necessary; (3) life in Law, in which there is no longer a division of actual and ideal, because the ideal is realised, and the will is in harmony with the Law, and a law to itself. By a Doctrine of Duties in this place the author explains that he does not intend the discussion of particular duties (which would anticipate his coming section of Ethology) but an analysis of the general conception of duty—general rules for the application of the law to particular cases, and general questions about the nature of duty. Under this head, accordingly, he treats such questions as the possibility of a collision of duties; the admissibility of the notion of supererogation; 'things indifferent,' and so on.

Such are the main contents of the present volume. The second chief section is not concluded when the work breaks off. After Teleology comes Anthropology—the science of the moral subject. This is the 'descriptive' part of Ethics: '*La science morale est réaliste, en ce qu'elle part forcément de la réalité présente et actuelle, de forces réelles mises à la disposition d'agents actuels*' (p. 27). "Anthropology" includes the discussion of the question of freedom, and is in short what has elsewhere been called the Psychology of Ethics.

Last will appear Ethology, the doctrine of particular duties—of the realisation by the individual subject (Anthropology) of the moral end (Teleology). Already, however, in the present volume the question has more than once been raised whether a science of conduct be possible, or desirable. As every one knows, many of the very best people do good without much reflection, and as it were instinctively; on the other hand it is possible to know

duty most correctly without doing it. The moral judgment nevertheless remains a psychological fact; and it is surely desirable to order and systematise moral judgments. Other sciences have their germ in common sense; yet the scientific ordering and correction of knowledge is necessary. There is an 'instinctive' or unscientific physics, an instinctive chemistry, an instinctive mechanics; yet the mind demands, and practical utility requires, the full development of those sciences. So scientific ethics is of use not only, as it obviously is, for teaching morals, but for practical life as well; and well-considered ethical thought on the part of the few may be most useful even to the many who do not think. There is, of course, an abuse of ethical reflection; and this raises the question of the right method of scientific ethics. It must not be purely abstract; for its whole subject is real conduct, actual practice. Neither must it be too detailed; for then it would fall into mere empiricism, and incur all the dangers of casuistry. Casuistry, says M. Gretilat, materialises and externalises morals; it creates difficulties which good instincts and intentions would have spontaneously overcome; it burdens the conscience with over-regulation, while it does not touch real selfishness. Casuistry has always likewise favoured the erection of human authority over reason and conscience (p. 67); but moral science can never take the place of the action of the individual conscience, and ought not to do so (p. 350). No authority, whether scientific or hierarchical, can do the work which each man must perform for himself in guiding his personal life and determining personal duty. Moral theory must therefore avoid too much detail, and the moral teacher decline the rôle of the director of souls (pp. 58, 64, 349).

A. HALLIDAY DOUGLAS.

Jesus Christ and His Surroundings.

By the Rev. Norman L. Walker, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 240. Price, 3s. 6d.

In the Day of the Cross.

A Course of Sermons, by the Rev. W. M. Clow, B.D., Edinburgh. London: Sands & Co., 1898. 8vo, pp. vii. 309. Price, 3s. 6d.

The Range of Christian Experience.

Twenty-eighth Fernley Lecture, by Richard Waddy Moss, Classical Tutor, Didsbury College. London: Charles H. Kelly, 1898. 8vo, pp. xii. 114. Price, 2s. 6d.

IN his *Jesus Christ and His Surroundings*, Dr Walker has given a successful picture of the various agencies and influences with

which our Lord was brought into contact. If there is in his volume no distinctively fresh contribution to a study which is most important, he has shown a good deal of ingenuity in his choice of subjects, and considerable art in the manner in which he groups them round the central Personality. And the student of our Lord's Life will find very useful the way in which the Gospel incidents are marshalled to bring out the various points discussed. Of course in his preface he disarms criticism by warning us not to expect, and in his pages we certainly do not find, any discussion of the problems which emerge in connection with a study of the background of the Life of Christ. It is a purely descriptive account of the surroundings of the earthly life of Jesus; and, though the plan of the author brings him face to face with such subjects as Christ's relation to the 'world of spirits,' to 'sin,' 'sorrow,' and 'death,' he attempts no more than the grouping of the incidents which bear on them, and the obvious evangelical lessons which they suggest. Such difficult tracks as Christ's relation to the spirit world, with its problems of angelology and demoniacal possession, and the references in the Gospels to His Cross and Passion, are passed through as if they were perfectly plain sailing, as from the author's standpoint they are. And he shows no consciousness of synoptic variations or textual difficulties: but that does not detract from the interest of the book as a popular and picturesque narrative. It is eminently readable, and one could wish that the theme with which it deals were as free from thorny difficulties to every student of the Gospels as it is to Dr Walker. The scope of the study may be gathered from some of the headings of the chapters, which deal with the relation of Jesus to 'The Natural World,' 'The Outlying Races,' 'The Church and State of His Day,' the 'Poor,' the 'Rich,' 'Children,' 'Inquirers,' &c. Perhaps the most admirable chapter is the opening one in which, with much felicity, he touches on our Lord's relation to the world of Nature. He also deals wisely with His attitude to the religious factions of His time, though the statement that "as He did not proceed to set up a new Church in Judaea, so He did not address Himself to the teaching of a new system of theology" (p. 103), would need more proof than is given to it. It is a fresh thought that the faith of 'the common people' in Jesus, the sympathy of the masses, kept the synagogues open to Him, and secured Him liberty of speech even within the precincts of the temple. When questions of sociology are met with, they are touched upon with sobriety and good sense. In these and many respects Dr Walker's book, if not even an attempt at a scientific treatment of a great subject, will, from its practical and popular cast, serve a useful purpose.

Mr Clow's volume, *In the Day of the Cross*, consisting, as he entitles it, of "a course of sermons on the men and women and some of the notable things of the day of the Crucifixion of Jesus," is a good piece of work. It essays a difficult task, and inevitably suggests comparison with a similar work of a former generation, Dr Hanna's *Last Day of our Lord's Passion*. The comparison is the more inevitable because the last-named work is alive and suggestive still. The feature which strikes one most in these sermons is what one might call their business-like character. Mr Clow always goes direct to the point he is making for, and gathers effective illustrations on his way, from literature and art, and his observation of life, which is keen and sagacious. So it is that each of the sermons keeps moving, and one feels that, when preached, they must have had that essential quality of all preaching, a genuine human interest. The method of the sermons is similar throughout. Each discourse puts points, and there is no lingering—rather little sometimes—on any one of them. The division is usually threefold, and Mr Clow has been at pains so to entitle his heads as to make them memorable. For example, in the sermon on the text, "His blood be on us and on our children," there are the arresting divisions—(1) The Cry of the Condemned; (2) The Cry of the Convicted; (3) The Cry of the Redeemed. Mr Clow is always content to take the divisions of the subject which suggest themselves naturally. His preaching is strong on the ethical side, as in the sermon on "Envy's Evil Work"; strong on the dramatic side, as witness the studies in character of Caiaphas, Pilate, and Herod the Tetrarch, who are treated respectively as the *ecclesiastic*, the *agnostic*, and the *worldling*; and strong also on the emotional side, as in the sermons on the part played by women in the day of the Cross. There is a firm grasp of modern ideas in such sermons as "Jesus and the Individual," and a clear recognition of Christian truths represented by such incidents as the "Rent Veil." If one were to be critical of pulpit work so practical and useful, one might say that the *modernising* is somewhat overdone, and that the grace and feeling of some paragraphs is marred by a certain abruptness of style which jars occasionally. Also that while the topical arrangement and division of the discourses is memorable and often ingenious, one sometimes feels that the theme might be trusted to teach its own lesson without the effort to say what it does teach. But these are slight points, and turn on what one's ideal of a sermon is. Few preachers know better than Mr Clow how to bring the themes of pulpit instruction into close touch with every side of life; and of the men and women and events of the day of the Cross, he has certainly omitted no incident that could be brought to teach that "in the Christian

view of the world, the day of the Cross is the high day of the world's history."

Richard Waddy Moss's volume, entitled *The Range of Christian Experience*, the 'Fernley Lecture' for 1898,—and which the author describes "as suggestive and practical rather than exhaustive and complete," is a very interesting essay to show that "Christian experience is as manifold as is human temperament on the one hand, or the gifts of God's grace on the other." It is a volume full of vigour and vitality. It starts with the thought that Christianity must be estimated "by its effective concern for the whole of man." The first chapter is a thoughtful, and, in respect of biblical study, a thorough discussion of the Christian regulation of the body; and, basing his investigation on the place given to this subject in the New Testament epistles, Mr Moss shows that the Christian religion seems to require, and certainly secures, that the body should neither be over-indulged nor over-restrained. Similarly, in the second chapter, he shows that in connection with the regulation of the Mind, "the Christian religion, when rightly viewed, proves favourable to culture." The most effective part of this discussion is that in which he works out the thought, by copious references to modern biography, that there is a tendency on the part of non-religious thinking to melancholy, and that "the finest thinking owes generally its inspiration, its guidance, or its issue to religion" (p. 26). A striking chapter is devoted to the purpose of showing that religion is the "co-ordinating power," which controls human instincts, and can alone make of each man a self-governed unity. This leads to a discussion of the question whether the religious instinct is universal, and, in this connection, Darwin's testimony, and the change of view of G. J. Romanes are turned to good account as showing that "the heart requires a God." If health is, as Martineau says, "the condition of the equilibrium of the instincts," then Mr Moss shows that the religious instinct "must be duly equilibrated with the others," and the result will be the spiritual peace of the New Testament. Taking Spencer's view of life as correspondence with surroundings, he next works out the thought that correspondence with *nature*, with *human influences*, and with *God*, are essential to the life of the soul. There is, in this connection, a very thorough discussion of altruism as "defensible only on religious considerations." Recent efforts to defend altruism on grounds of evolution are shown to have failed: for "evolution works by stern and ruthless laws, and to mate evolution with compassion is the unholy and most alien of wedlocks" (p. 65). Religion rationalises duty, and supplies the needful incitements to it. Christianity with its inspiring doctrine of the 'substituted self' is then

shown to have supplied the secret of victory over "a man's standing and worst trouble," otherwise unconquerable. Finally it is argued that "Philosophy alone cannot but fail to quiet and strengthen the human spirit," and that the resolute imitation of Christ through the union of human volition and Divine Grace constitutes "the ultimate limit of the range of Christian experience." From this outline it will be seen that the 'Fernley Lecture' for 1898 covers a wide field, and the various subjects which open up are dealt with in a practical and suggestive manner. Probably it may be felt that the work somewhat lacks unity, that the subjects dealt with in the successive chapters are not *obviously* related to one another. But as an indication of "a few of the directions in which thought may be profitably turned" on the subject of the range of Christian experience this essay is a timely, and certainly a very interesting contribution to a subject of pressing importance. It serves to deepen in one's mind the conviction that the postulates of religion cannot be set aside in the treatment of the great problems of Ethics.

DAVID PURVES.

Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst.

Von Georg Stuhlfauth. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. viii. 264.

Jonas auf den Denkmälern des christlichen Altertums.

Von Dr Otto Mitius. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. vi. 114.

THESE two monographs are the third and fourth parts of Ficker's *Archäologische Studien zum christlichen Altertum u. Mittelalter*, and they maintain the same high standard of excellence as the first and second parts previously written by the same authors.

The first of these is a critical study of the manner in which angels are represented in early Christian art. The fundamental principle which guides the author in his treatment of the subject is, that as art is a crystallisation of the beliefs and spirit of its age, so Christian art must be studied in the light of contemporary literature, more especially the poetry, fiction and apocrypha of its date. He therefore begins by an introductory chapter on the testimony of the later Jewish and earlier Christian writings as to the beliefs entertained concerning these heavenly messengers, in reference (1) to their nature, and (2) to their personal appearance.

In dealing with the first of these subjects he gives a comprehensive digest of its complex and difficult literature, the only noteworthy omission in which is that he does not refer to the position

occupied by the angels in the Ophite and other Gnostic writings, such as the account of the Diagramma given in Origen, *contra Celsum*, vi., or the references to them in many passages in *Pistê Sophia*, or Hippolytus, &c. With this exception most of the other authorities have been carefully studied and utilised, more especially the systematic treatise on the Heavenly Hierarchy which bears the name of Dionysius the Areopagite.

With regard to the personal appearance of the angels as described in the literature he gives all the available details. They appear as men, usually as young and *always* beardless, at least in the early periods. In later times, as in the ivory tablet described by Westwood (tenth century), bearded angels occasionally appear, but even here they are exceptional. He examines in detail the instances recorded of bearded angels in early Christian art, and comes to the conclusion that some of these are not really angels, and the few others are the workmanship of ignorant or rude artists, unintelligently done. In this connexion it is suggestive to find that, until near the close of the fourth century, angels are represented without wings, and so unmistakably human in appearance, that there is often a difficulty in identifying them except from the position they occupy in the composition. Among the Jewish authors certain celestial beings, such as Cherubim and Seraphim, are described as being winged (possibly the idea was derived from the forms familiar in early Babylonian and Assyrian art), but with few exceptions the great mass of angels, those who are so numerous that according to the *Yalkut hadash* there is not even an herb upon which an angel does not rest, are not described as winged. Certainly, however, the angel in the Apocalypse is said to be winged, and on a Mithraic talisman, probably of the second century, Michael is depicted as a four-winged figure. D'Agincourt figures by some mistake (vol. v. pl. vii. 3) a winged Raphael in an early representation of the fish-incident in Tobit, said to be from the Priscilla Catacomb, but in the almost identical picture of the Tobias scene in the catacomb of SS. Thraso and Saturninus the angel is not winged. A third century representation of the three Hebrew children from the catacomb of St Soteris shows the angel as beardless and wingless.

Probably the first appearance of an angel in Christian art is in the fresco of the Annunciation in the catacomb of St Priscilla, which dates from about the middle of the third century. The subject of this picture is doubted by Schultze and others; but its resemblance to the almost contemporary representation of this scene in the catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus points to the correctness of Bottari's identification. Here also the angel is wingless.

In the second part of this work the author reviews in detail the various scenes represented in Christian art in which angels are portrayed, and traces the development of the angelic form from its first appearance to its later modification. For example, he tells us that the first place in which the three heavenly visitants to Abraham (Genesis xviii. 2), are represented as winged is in the Cottonian Bible in the British Museum, and this he believes to be copied from the mosaic of this scene at Ravenna, in which, however, the angels are wingless. In connexion with the visit of the Magi to Bethlehem he notes that in one early representation there are only two, in another there are four, and in another six wise men; and apparently it was not until the fourth century that the number was made to correspond with that of their gifts. He also traces the evolution in the apocryphal literature whereby the guiding star became an angel, and shows that there was a similar development in art.

As to the cause of the sudden change in representation about the end of the fourth century he believes that it may be correlated with the adoption about that time of the four living creatures of Ezekiel as symbols of the Evangelists. This first appears in a mosaic in S. Pudenziana at Rome about A.D. 392, and he thinks that the winged man, the emblem of S. Matthew, was taken by later artists as their type of an angel. He treats at some length of Schultze's theory that there was an intermediate period when angels were represented as bearded, and rejects the hypothesis.

The work is well worthy of study by those interested in the subject. It suffers for lack of an index, and the multiplicity of contractions very much interferes with the comfort of the reader.

The work of Dr Mitius on Jonah, dealing with a more limited subject, is an exhaustive study of the representation of the various episodes of the Jonah cycle in early Christian art. The method is the same, first a prefatory study of the Biblical and patristic references, followed by a discussion of the archaeological literature of the subject. The popularity of this theme is probably to be accounted for because of Our Lord's references to the first great incident in Jonah's life as typical of His own death and resurrection, and to the second as an example to the men of His generation who had not received His message as the Ninevites received that of Jonah. After these preliminary chapters he takes in order the different monumental representatives of the chief incidents in the history of the prophet; reviewing first the catacomb frescoes, then the scenes as presented on sarcophagi, on glass, lamps, ivories, and the miniature illustrations of manuscripts. He refers to the attempts of Baur and Trumbull to correlate the Jonah story with the Babylonian legend of Oannes, which he dismisses by referring to the works

of Reuss and König on that subject. The earliest figures which he identifies as being true Jonah pictures are, first, the remains of the ship scene in the tomb of St Januarius in the catacomb of Prætextatus, dating from the latter half of the second century, and second, the much better preserved picture in the sacrament chapel in the catacomb of St Callixtus. This he describes minutely and shows that neither the allegorical explanation given by De Rossi nor the Pauline identification of Schultze is satisfactory, and from my memory of the scene I have little doubt that his interpretation of this most striking picture is correct.

Some of the representations of this episode have probably been influenced, as our author indicates, by memories on the part of the artist of certain mythological scenes connected with the histories of Poseidon, or of Hesione, but in most cases the incidents of the Biblical story are fairly closely followed.

The later scenes of Jonah's life, especially his resting under the gourd, are also favourite subjects of art. Sometimes this is portrayed in connexion with the earlier incident. In some of these, from the attitude of the figure, the reposing Jonah seems to be intended as a symbol of rest, as the first episode is in some places evidently used as a type of death and resurrection. The gourd is represented generally as a colocynth with its characteristic fruit, but sometimes in fourth century copies as ivy, recalling the well-known Jerome-Augustine controversy. Appended is a full list of all the Jonah figures which the author has been able to find with a reference in each case to the work in which it has been described or copied. Altogether, the treatment of the subject is so complete that it leaves nothing to be desired by the student of Christian Archæology.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

Die Berufsbegabung der Alttestamentlichen Propheten.

Von Friedrich Giesebrecht, D. und Professor der Theologie zu Greifswald. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1897. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 188. Price, M.4.40.

A MONOGRAPH on the inspiration of the prophets from the pen of Dr Giesebrecht is sure of a cordial welcome from all students of the religion of Israel. To some it may even be a surprise to learn that such a question has any interest for a leading German critic, and still more to find in him a firm believer in the supernatural origin of Hebrew prophecy. Those who have watched recent developments of critical opinion will not altogether share that surprise. There have been of late some signs of a reaction, in the

most liberal circles of criticism, against the rationalistic estimate of prophecy which Kuenen did so much to popularise. Writers like Wellhausen, Smend, and Duhm have made it clear that the conception of the prophet as essentially an advanced religious thinker, and exponent of ethical monotheism, fails to satisfy their minds. They look upon prediction—or at least the prevision of a sweeping national judgment—as a primary fact of pre-exilic prophecy, not to be analysed into a syllogism with the theory of retribution as its major premiss and the prophet's perception of the sinfulness of Israel as the minor. That admission indicates a radical change of standpoint with regard to the whole problem of prophecy, and Smend, at least, does not hesitate to affirm that the foreknowledge of the prophets is a divine mystery and has its source in divine illumination. Giesebrecht is on the whole in agreement with these writers, although he perhaps goes further than any of them in the recognition of a direct divine influence on the mind of the prophet. At all events he has done more than any of them to expound his position, and clear up the issues between conflicting theories; and in so doing he has rendered an immense service to the study of the Old Testament. The value of the book does not lie either in its novelty or its finality. There is perhaps no new principle here applied for the first time to the elucidation of prophecy, while on the other hand the book is far too suggestive to be the last word on the subject. But it brings the investigation of a difficult set of questions up to date, and conducts it with a fulness and accuracy of learning, a soundness of judgment, and a downright disinterested love of truth which are conspicuous even in a department of scholarship where such qualities have fortunately not been rare.

There are three features of prophecy which attract attention whenever its supernatural character comes up for discussion: first, the predictions; second, the visionary experiences recorded by the prophets; and third, their absolute confidence in themselves as the spokesmen and representatives of the Almighty. Although they are not kept separate in Giesebrecht's concise and closely reasoned argument, it may be convenient to state his principal conclusions under these three heads.

1. Giesebrecht strongly dissents from the view that prediction is an unimportant or secondary feature of Old Testament prophecy. "Historically considered, it is cutting the heart out of prophecy to eliminate the predictive element" (p. 6). More than that, he maintains that to a remarkable extent the predictions were fulfilled. A survey of prophecy from Amos to Malachi (pp. 7-12) brings to light "a most significant confirmation of the prophetic word by history." Not indeed that every vaticination came true; "in general the rule may be laid down that the more specific the

object and character of a prediction are, the less surely can its fulfilment be established. Still there are special predictions that have been realised, and—what is of prime importance—the great crises and evolutionary epochs of the history were correctly prognosticated by the prophets. The question arises: how is this striking fact to be explained?" (p. 12). It would occupy too much space to follow the author in his criticism of the various expedients adopted to reconcile the facts with the assumptions of rationalism on the one hand or supernaturalism on the other. The correspondence between the prophecies and the events is too close to be explained by mere human foresight, and yet not close enough to satisfy those who identify the prophetic utterances with the infallible word of God. The state of the case suggests that the predictions are due to the co-operation of two factors, one human and sharing in the limitations of all human faculties, and the other divine; the main problem being to determine as nearly as possible the nature of both these elements, and the manner in which each is conditioned by the other. The point that may be most interesting to English readers is the idea (not new, but little heard of in this country) that Old Testament prophecy has a "natural basis" in a certain faculty of divination or presentiment (*Ahnungsvermögen*), which plays an important part amongst the less developed races of mankind (p. 14). The considerations urged in favour of this view are briefly these: (1) the concreteness and absoluteness of the predictions preclude the supposition that they are deduced from the moral intuition of the prophets; (2) they are not infallible, and therefore cannot have been in each separate case immediately communicated by God; (3) the mingling of superhuman knowledge with illusion is most simply to be explained by the hypothesis of a natural capacity with which God endowed His prophets; and (4) the existence of some such capacity is proved by many authentic facts of history and private biography. The examples cited under this last head (pp. 74 ff.) may not appear very convincing to some minds; and Giesebrecht admits that they fall far short of the precision and certainty of the Old Testament predictions. Still the evidence has satisfied many competent enquirers, and it cannot be denied that if there really be such a faculty among the unexplored capacities of the human spirit, it would explain many of the phenomena of Hebrew prophecy. But while this is an indispensable part of the prophets' "*Berufsbegabung*" it is by no means the whole of it. In a weighty passage (81 ff.) Giesebrecht protests against a onesided depreciation of the *ethical* factor in prophecy, which he finds in the statements of Smend. If it is a mistake to reduce the presage of judgment on Israel to an inference from the verdict on its moral condition, it is equally a

mistake to suppose that the denunciation of Israel's sin was an afterthought suggested by the presentiment of its fate. The logical consequence of this view would be, that the calls to repentance so often uttered by the prophets were not seriously meant, inasmuch as the speakers were convinced that no genuine repentance would ever take place. Such a view, as Giesebrecht justly observes, is contradicted by the whole tenor of the prophetic writings. If the prophets knew beforehand that their appeals would be unavailing, why did they waste so many words upon them? What could they mean by the prophecies uttered conditionally, or by holding out alternatives for the people's choice? (83). It is rather the combination of the two elements, the visionary and the ethical, that makes the true prophet (85). Each has its independent source in the mind of the prophet, and it is a question to be considered in each separate case which was prior in his consciousness. But "from the moment when the presentiment of the ruin of the state took possession of his mind, the fusion of both elements was accomplished, and the prophet knew intuitively that the catastrophe was a judgment, and could be nothing else than a judgment" (86). Later on (pp. 91 ff.), it is shown how in various ways the moral and religious insight of the true prophet clarified his natural presentiments, and saved him from the aberrations and illusions to which the false prophets were liable.

2. In dealing with the prophetic visions and auditions, Giesebrecht again follows a *via media*, avoiding, of course, the crass supernaturalism of König (who takes the visions, &c., to have been real perceptions of external facts through the organs of sight and hearing), and avoiding also the commoner opinion that the narratives are conscious constructions of the artistic imagination. He regards them as modified survivals of the ecstatic manifestations which marked the early stages of prophecy in Israel (pp. 37 f.). The complete ecstasy was a cataleptic condition in which the consciousness was entirely submerged, whereas the canonical prophets retain full possession of their mental powers throughout their visionary states, and only their intercourse with the outer world through the senses is interrupted. With regard to the visions in particular, Giesebrecht is disposed to recognise a real ecstatic foundation in most of the recorded instances (even in Ezekiel and Zechariah), although in later prophecy there is an increasing tendency to put more into the description than the actual vision could possibly have contained. At the same time it is rightly pointed out that the pre-exilic prophets relate comparatively few visions, and these few mostly connected with their entrance on the prophetic career. The inaugural vision had a special significance to the prophet's own mind, and may have been

necessary as a divine token of his call to the sacred office. But once assured of his vocation, he usually received the word of the Lord in the normal exercise of his thinking powers; and it is not to be supposed that visions were the ordinary form in which divine truth entered his mind. The case of the audition is precisely parallel. The extensive use of the formulae *נאום יהוה* and *כה אמר יהוה* is mostly rhetorical and a part of the traditional prophetic style; and what they express is merely the prophet's certainty that the words he utters are suggested to him by the Lord. It is of course not denied that real auditions sometimes occur even in the maturer stages of a prophet's experience (*e.g.* Isa. v. 9, xxii. 14, &c.). This general conclusion is no doubt correct, though it might be worth considering whether the *ne'ûm* is necessarily to be identified with the *ipsissima verba* of the spoken oracle. It is a conceivable view that the actual audition was a mysterious inarticulate sound which the prophet was left to interpret and translate into intelligible language (see Duhamel on Isa. xxviii. 19). In that case some of the arguments on pp. 40 ff. would have to be modified.

3. The last point is the most obscure and difficult of all—the prophet's inward consciousness of a unique and intimate relation to God. This consciousness reveals itself less in particular phrases than in the whole bearing of these men in the discharge of their commission—most remarkably in their identification not only of their own words, but of their actions and feelings with the words and acts and feelings, of God (pp. 87 f.). The ground of it, however, appears to be their conviction that they know directly and infallibly the mind of the Lord, that they have His word, and can distinguish it from their own natural thoughts. On what does this sublime self-consciousness of the prophets rest? Partly, perhaps, as Giesebrecht allows, on their ecstatic conditions; these, being inward processes not controlled by the prophet's volition, were naturally ascribed to the direct agency of the divine spirit. But the rarity of such states shows us that the prophetic certainty must have had a broader basis than this. "Here we are truly in presence of a mystery which eludes our closer observation and analysis. We can only substantiate the fact of a singularly elevated consciousness of union with God, and we are compelled to postulate an adequate basis for this consciousness. Speaking generally, the indications given in the prophetic writings, and especially the inaugural visions, lead us to conceive of this relationship after the analogy of the communion between the pious soul and God. The fellowship, once established, was doubtlessly ordinarily maintained by prayer, in which the most personal concerns of the suppliant were laid before God" (p. 89). These sentences may convey some general idea of Giesebrecht's position, though to represent it fully

it would be necessary to quote the whole passage. It will be seen that his view is similar to that of Oehler and Riehm, who find the nearest analogies to the religious consciousness of the prophets in (1) the inward witness of the Holy Spirit and (2) the assurance of the answer to definite prayers which many Christians receive. Riehm and Giesebrecht, indeed, appear to be very much at one in their whole conception of prophecy, and it is difficult to see the point of the criticism on p. 80, if it be really intended for Riehm as well as Schwartzkopf, as it seems to be. How far the analogies suggested really carry us is too large a question to be entered upon here.

There are many other things in this instructive and masterly study which one would have wished to direct attention to, had space permitted. But these the reader will do best to discover for himself. It is a book full of good matter, and there are few who will rise from its perusal without having learned something of value. I must conclude with the briefest mention of the two supplementary dissertations, which occupy a third of the volume; one on "The Spirit of Jahweh" (pp. 123-159), and the other on "The Predictions of Ezekiel" (pp. 160-186). The pages on the Spirit are an important contribution to Old Testament theology, and certainly among the best that have been written on the subject. If any one thing might be instanced as specially noticeable it might be the exposition of the prophet's doctrine of the spirit, and in particular, the explanation suggested for Jeremiah's silence with regard to the Spirit. It is to be hoped that the section on Ezekiel will do something to clear away the vacillation which characterises nearly all expositions of that difficult prophet. While there are few who care to take all his statements literally, few if any have ventured to pronounce all his prophetic experiences to be pure inventions. Giesebrecht, of course, does neither the one thing nor the other, but he seeks to apply a consistent method to the exegesis of the peculiar incidents of his career. The results are likely to commend themselves to all who wish to do justice to Ezekiel's veracity, and at the same time to hold a reasonable view of the nature of prophetic inspiration.

JOHN SKINNER.

Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.

As edited and enlarged by E. Kautzsch. Translated from the twenty-fifth German edition by the late Rev. G. W. Collins, M.A. The translation revised and adjusted to the twenty-sixth edition by A. E. Cowley, M.A. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1898. Demy 8vo, pp. xx. 598. Price, 21s.

THREE English editions of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar lie before the present reviewer. The first is a slim tall octavo of 175 pages,

printed in double columns "translated from the eleventh German edition by T. J. Conant" in 1839, and reprinted for Thomas Ward & Co. of London. The second is a smaller and shorter octavo of 415 pages "from the twentieth German edition," improved by E. Røediger, and translated by B. Davies, LL.D., dated 1869. The third, bearing the date of the present year (1898), is the subject of this review.

The progress of Hebrew scholarship during the last fifty years may be measured pretty accurately by the contrast between Conant's edition of 1839 and Cowley's of 1898. How much work has been spent upon Gesenius' book in the interval may be guessed from the following *dicta* taken from Conant:

(1) '[The Assyrian] language was not of the parent stock called Semitish' (*sic*) (p. 1, note).

(2) 'In tenses . . . [the Hebrew verb] is poor, having only the Praeter (*sic*) and the Future' (p. 46).

(3) 'This Future with Vav conversive or *Futurum conversum* may be regarded as originally a true compound tense with an auxiliary verb [הָיָה (shortened to הָ), *fuil*]' (p. 51).

It is hardly necessary to say that the edition of 1898 is fully abreast of modern research on the three points just mentioned, but it may be well to add that the Grammar as a whole is thoroughly modern. The chapter on the Semitic Languages in general is brief, but thoroughly good, the treatment of the 'tenses' is both modern and careful, and 'Waw Consecutive' is treated with a happy absence of doubtful theories. An interesting contrast of old and new scholarship may be quoted from the beginning of the book.

1839.

In the oldest written monuments of this language, *contained in the Pentateuch*, we find it as *perfect* as it ever became in its structure, and we have no historical documents of an earlier date, by which we can investigate its origin and formation (Conant, p. 4).

1898.

In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as found in the Old Testament, and *also in non-biblical monuments . . .* the language (to judge from its *consonantal* formation) remains, as regards its general character, and apart from slight changes in form and differences in style . . . at about the same stage of development (Cowley, p. 11).

(The italics are my own; how cautious and yet how precise and comprehensive is the modern statement as compared with the old!)

And yet though Gesenius' Grammar has experienced such thorough revision, it still remains his in arrangement (largely) and in spirit, and the edition of 1898 can be readily compared with

that of 1839. There are two main differences: Cowley's edition (1) is, as I have said, abreast of the scholarship of the present day; (2) is not a grammar for beginners.

Gesenius' grammar, as it stood in 1839, was, though full in treatment, adapted for the use of promising beginners, and accordingly Conant added exercises to his edition. In this he was followed by Davies in the somewhat fuller edition of 1869. But exercises are rightly absent from "Collins-Cowley," for the book is now no longer an Introduction to Hebrew, but a standard reference grammar. It is the book for the student who has mastered A. B. Davidson's *Introductory Grammar* (or some similar work), and is proceeding to a comprehensive course of reading in the Hebrew Bible.

The new Gesenius has several qualities which peculiarly fit it to be a book of reference.

- (1) It is clear in arrangement and terse in language.
- (2) It abounds in useful references to recent philological literature.
- (3) It puts before the reader with brevity and clearness alternative views of disputed points.
- (4) It is full in its selection of examples, *e.g.*, even so late a book as *Chronicles* receives proper attention.
- (5) It gives warning wherever the Massoretic text is doubtful. (According to p. 21, note, "Observation has more and more led to the belief that the original text of the Old Testament is corrupted to a greater degree than was formerly supposed.")
- (6) There is a good and full syntax.

In conclusion it may be said that the translation seems to be well executed. (Is "the third *line*" at the top of p. 3 right?) Hebrew students will feel that they owe a great debt to Mr Cowley for his laborious and successful labours, while they will regret that Mr Collins did not survive to see the reward of a work which must have cost years of somewhat monotonous toil.

W. E. BARNES.

P.S.—In a new edition might not the Index of passages be made more complete, especially by the addition of omitted references to *Chronicles*?

1. A Critical Examination of Butler's Analogy.

By the Rev. Henry Hughes, M.A., author of "*The Theory of Inference*," "*Religious Faith*," &c. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 276. Price, 6s.

2. Bible Characters: Gideon to Absalom.

By Alexander Whyte, D.D., author of "*Bunyan Characters*," &c. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Post 8vo, pp. 245. Price, 3s. 6d.

3. Die Neutestamentliche Lehre von der Seligkeit und Ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart. Erster Theil. Jesu Lehre vom Reiche Gottes.

Von Lic. Arthur Titius, Privatdocent der Theologie in Berlin. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1895; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. ix. 199. Price, M.3.60.

4. Christ the Substitute. A Series of Studies in Christian Doctrine based upon the Conception of God's Universal Fatherhood.

By E. Reeves Palmer, M.A., author of "*The Development of Revelation*," &c. London: John Snow & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 418. Price, 7s. 6d.

5. Shall all be Saved? What is meant by the Restitution of All Things? (Acts iii. 21.). These Questions so much discussed of late, answered from Scripture itself.

By John Forbes, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Prof. of Oriental Languages, Aberdeen, author of "*Symmetrical Structure of Scripture*," &c., &c. Aberdeen: John Rae Smith; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 32.

READERS of this Review must now be tolerably well acquainted with the works of Mr Hughes, and ought to be in a position to know pretty well what to expect from his pen. In the volume for 1891, *Natural and Supernatural Morals* was reviewed by Professor Wenley, in 1895 *The Theory of Inference* by Professor Iverach, and in 1897 *Religious Faith* by Professor Macintosh. In all these works a certain freshness of thinking was recognised, accompanied by so much wrong-headedness, especially in the way of

distribution and subdivision of his subjects, that the result generally fell far short of the expectations which had been raised. In the present work we have perhaps more of the excellences and fewer of the defects referred to than in any of Mr Hughes' previous writings. The book is avowedly a hostile criticism of Butler, though couched in respectful and sympathetic language. In his Preface Mr Hughes distinctly says that his main object is to assist Butler in a graceful descent from his high position as a trusted leader of religious thought. The Analogy is full of dialectical and theological mistakes, and though it may be valued for its spirit, yet as an argument it must be dethroned. Our author proceeds to state with studied fairness and detailed accuracy the main arguments of Butler's great work. He shows how Butler attempted to establish a substantial analogical probability of the doctrine of a future judgment or natural religion, and how, from the analogy of our being instrumental in saving one another from the natural consequences of vice and folly, he endeavours to illustrate the reasonableness of the revealed doctrine of the mediatorial work of Christ. After criticising in detail Butler's attempt to state and defend the doctrines of a future life, of reward and punishment, of the moral government of God and probation for moral improvement, Mr Hughes concludes that the so-called argument from analogy affords no evidence of such a futurity as religion speaks of, and that on these grounds the probability of a future just recompensing of present conduct is very small, and that no proof is given that the total advantage accruing to virtue will exceed the total advantage accruing to vice. The spirit of Butler's discussion is admirable, but the argument is quite inconclusive. But if the Analogy fails in its First Part, it is even more evidently open to objection, according to Mr Hughes, in its Second Part. Butler's argument in favour of the possibility of a revelation which is based on miracle, and his defence of miracles, are unsatisfactory and ineffectual. In contrast to Butler's employment of miracles as *a posteriori* evidence of the truth of Christian doctrines, Mr Hughes sets forth in an admirable manner the real function of the miraculous. "The worker of miracles inspires confidence in his teaching, only in so far as he is supposed, by reason of extraordinary power based upon moral worth, to be a specially-informed and trusted agent of the Most High God. . . . The evidential relation of miracle to doctrinal belief is thus virtually that of authority. Christian miracle is a guarantee that the teaching of its workers is authoritative" (p. 216). The treatise before us closes with an admirable and instructive chapter on "Butler as a theologian" (pp. 249-276). Butler's grave defect as a theologian resulted mainly from his failing to distinguish religious morality, which is a result of revelation, from mere natural morality. He

also made the mistake of endeavouring to persuade men to adopt the practice of religion from prudential motives of probable advantage, which is distinctly in opposition to the spirit of the New Testament. By importing the principle of natural law into the spiritual world, he virtually denies the supernatural, and derogates from the sovereignty of God as the God of revelation. The book is written in a clear, though not very bright or brilliant, style, and the reasoning of the critic is quite easily followed.

Dr Whyte's book is a second series of lectures on Scripture Characters, beginning with Gideon and ending with Absalom. The earlier volume dealt with the history of men and women in the first six books of the Bible, from Adam to Achan. In this volume Dr Whyte deals with persons and incidents in Israelitish history down to the close of Solomon's reign. We have here twenty-one lectures, all of them written in the most interesting and racy manner conceivable. What strikes the reader at once is the remarkable variety of topics, and the wonderful richness of present-day application which characterises all these sketches. In every lecture there is abundant evidence of the writer's power in the subtle analysing of characters—the analysis, however, in every instance being of such a type that it is the truth of it rather than the subtlety of it that rivets the attention of the reader. There is exquisite beauty in the eulogies on Ruth and Hannah, and we have a warm and generous appreciation of what lends such singular grace to the lives of these two noble Hebrew women. Equally powerful is the scathing exposure of the selfishness and shallowness of Michal, Saul's daughter. Four lectures are devoted to David, as he appears in his virtues, in his vices, in his graces, and in his services—surely a very admirable distribution of the materials which form the life-story of the great King of Israel. This sketch of David strikes us as singularly fair; and it is so difficult to be fair in estimating so many-sided a character as that of David. Dr Whyte seems here not only to give a record of the facts reported in the Old Testament history, but to apportion praise and blame, and to exhibit the conspicuous merits and the equally conspicuous faults of the man and the monarch, quite in the spirit and after the mind of the inspired historian. In the lecture on Saul, the obscurity in which his character is involved, and some of the strange anomalies of his life, which have puzzled so many, are most acutely traced back, in part at least, to the apparent absence of all interest in spiritual things which seems to have characterised the family of Kish. Their evident ignorance of Samuel, who was head and centre of the religious life of all Israel, their interest in the otherwise unknown seer simply as one who might find for them their lost asses, indicates a depth of worldliness

that may account for much. In the lecture on Eli, Dr Whyte has some excellent and true remarks on the beautiful personal qualities of the aged priest as shown in his treatment of Samuel. The beauty of Eli's conduct did not lie in the absence of all envy of the consecrated youth, as Robertson of Brighton so earnestly and powerfully insists, but in his noble refusal to give expression to it in his action.

In the treatise of Licentiate Titius we have the first part of an important and comprehensive work. Our author undertakes to deal with the New Testament idea of salvation, but in the present instalment of his work he discusses only Jesus' doctrine of the Kingdom of God. In a short but interesting and well arranged introduction, pp. 1-18, he inquires into the significance of the primitive Christian view of the Kingdom of God, the scope and method of its treatment, and the time of its manifestation. He regards it as of primary importance to reach an understanding of Jesus' doctrine of the kingdom as a whole, and rightly condemns the practice of laying stress upon isolated and occasional sayings which ought to be taken simply as illustrating certain features of the general representations which were of predominant interest to the speaker for the time being. It is also to be borne in mind that it is the completed kingdom in all the richness and perfection of its spirituality that is described, and not that kingdom in any of its more or less imperfect stages of development. Consequently the treatise appropriately opens with a main division treating of the Kingdom of Glory in which the Kingdom of God is distinguished from the world kingdom as essentially spiritual and as the kingdom of heaven, and the idea of eternal life is set forth as the central thought and content of the kingdom. This is followed by a second division on Jesus' doctrine of the kingdom as a whole, showing the inner concentration and distinctive place and value of its several parts. Here we have fruitful and suggestive discussions on the divine government of the world, the meaning and place of miracle in this government, the relation of the eternal to the natural life (under which all the leading ethical and social questions are introduced), the righteousness of the kingdom, and the fellowship of God enjoyed in it in promise and in possession. In a third division, our author discusses the significance of the death of Jesus for the kingdom of God, from the point of view of the parousia, this death bringing to men eternal life and the divine fellowship through the communication of the Holy Spirit and the continued intercourse of the Exalted Saviour with his own disciples, who constitute the church or community of Jesus Christ. In the closing division we have an admirable systematic sketch of Jesus' doctrine of the Kingdom of God from the point of view of salvation,

in which the full spiritual significance of that doctrine is very clearly set forth, as well as the relations which it bears to the Jewish, and especially the Jewish Apocalyptic, view preceding, and to the more fully developed and systematized Christian doctrine of later times. The whole work is characterised by thoroughness of grasp and by a singular facility in combining widely scattered materials into a consistent and systematic presentation of the Lord's teaching about salvation. The exegetical discussions are fair, and the conclusions drawn are natural and unforced. In no single work on this subject have the historical and systematic qualities, so necessary for a discussion of the kind, been so apparent, with the result that we have here just what we want, not a mere examination of separate passages from the gospels, but a systematic statement of Jesus' doctrine, sufficiently supported and illustrated from the original sources. It may be very warmly commended to the careful consideration of every student of New Testament Theology.

Mr Palmer professes to be a Calvinist such as Calvin would probably have been had he lived in these days. The modifications, however, which this hypothesis of a nineteenth century Calvinism is made the vehicle of introducing into the Calvinistic system as we actually have it sent down to us from its author are, to use the words of Mr Palmer himself, "very considerable." First of all, Calvin's starting-point was wrong; and so it is proposed to substitute for the idea of the Sovereignty of God from which Calvin started, that of the Fatherhood of God. Mr Palmer has much that is true to say about God's Fatherhood and man's Sonship, and much of this is beautifully and suggestively expressed. Taking the Fatherhood of God as his theological starting-point, he makes the substitution of Christ the central idea of his theological system. It has to be observed, however, that his view of the doctrine of substitution is quite different from that of the orthodox Calvinist. Against the accepted doctrine he brings no less than five objections. It limits the substitutionary work to the atonement, takes an erroneous view of the atonement, is artificial and inadequate, misses the real problem of salvation, and, most serious defect of all, is incompatible with the Fatherhood. His own theory is this: Jesus Christ is the Substitute to man for the original head and representative of the race. He undoes for humanity all that the original man should not have done but did, and does for humanity all that the original man should have done but did not, and so makes possible and actual the salvation and restoration of mankind. This substitution to man rather than instead of man, includes every part of Christ's redemptive work, from His incarnation upon earth to His eternal life in heaven. The Son of Man,

therefore, repents, works righteousness, makes atonement and rises into the new life. He dies not instead of men, but for them, so that they like Him may also die to sin. Mr Palmer also rejects the Protestant doctrine of Justification. To justify is not to declare but to make righteous. Justification is the positive result of the new birth, the awakening of the new life in the soul; and Sanctification is the growth and development of that new life to its ultimate perfection. This distinction is parallel to the choice of righteousness and the fulfilment of righteousness is the substitutionary life of Christ. In his discussion of the doctrine of Election, Mr Palmer criticises the statement of it in the Westminster Assembly's Catechism, and gives a rendering of the idea of Election from the standpoint of Fatherhood as opposed to that of Sovereignty, which is in direct opposition to all the teaching of Augustine and Calvin. Apart from the peculiarities pointed out, there is much in this work that is instructive, and fitted to be useful to the theological student and to the preacher.

Like everything else that Dr Forbes has written, this little treatise which discusses the question, *Shall all be saved?* is fresh and stimulating and full of ingenuity. It is needless to say that the venerable author treats his subject in a profoundly reverent manner, and that the problem of the restitution of all things is discussed from the standpoint of the Christian revelation. First of all, our author puts out of the way the famous passage in St Peter's Epistle about the Spirits in Prison. He will not for a moment allow that this passage has any bearing upon the question of probation after death. Those preached to were dead in Peter's day, but not when they were preached to, and they were preached to by Christ through the instrumentality of Noah. Dr Forbes accepts heartily the natural interpretation of our Lord's solemn parables in Matt. xxv., &c., and strongly emphasises these passages in the gospels which speak of the difficulty of salvation and the comparative smallness of the number who are able to enter into the kingdom. In the judgment there will be two groups distinguished and only two, and then it will be well with the righteous and ill with the wicked. The standard of probation is pitched very high so that few can attain to it, and their rank is described as correspondingly high, they are kings and priests to God (Rev. i. 6, v. 10). But what of the great number that fall short? Dr Forbes thinks he finds an answer in Rev. vii. and xiv., in the distinction there made between the two classes that inhabit the renovated earth. Of the first class of servants of God who are sealed, there is a definite number, 144,000, and these constitute the true Israel, they have the Father's name in their foreheads,

they only can sing the harpers' song, and they were purchased from among men to be the first fruits unto God and the Lamb. They are inhabitants of the New Jerusalem long before any others are received. The other class described in ch. vii. 9-17, is not numbered, sealed or named, and forms a great multitude which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples and tongues. They had passed through all those terrible judgments described in vv. 1-8, which the avenging angels were not allowed to begin until the sealing of the 144,000 had been completed. They were thus made to pass through *the great tribulation*, that tribulation and anguish which shall be on every soul of man that doeth evil (Rom. ii. 9), and only after this are their robes washed white in the blood of the Lamb. It is the redemption of this multitude which seems hinted at when it is said that the leaves of the trees on the banks of the river of life are for the healing of the nations (Rev. xxii. 2). The deliverance of this multitude brings about the death of death when Death and Hades are cast into the lake of fire. There is no more curse, no more death, the last enemy is destroyed, and God is all in all. But the final state and class to which each individual belongs is determined at the moment of death. "Hades or Hell fire forms a gracious means of leading sinners to repentance and entire hatred of sin until its last dregs are burnt out of their souls. They will then be transferred into some of those many mansions in His Father's house of which the Saviour speaks to be trained up and gradually prepared against the Judgment of the last day for a secondary place in the New Jerusalem." Here we have the doctrine of the restitution of all things set forth, with many important modifications and new details, which are certainly highly interesting and seem in some respects extremely plausible; but, whether the interpretation given to Rev. vii. will commend itself to the expert exegetes of that difficult book of scripture, is, I fear, more than doubtful.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

Beiträge zur Israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte.

Von Dr Ernst Sellin, Privatdozent in Erlangen. Heft. 2.: *Israels Güter und Ideale.* Leipzig: Deichert; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Ss. viii. 314. 8vo. Mk. 6.

THOUGH this work bears a modest title, and is presented merely as the second instalment of a larger whole, it is really so important a "contribution" to the history of the religion of Israel that it might well have been published as an independent treatise, possessing high value in itself. Its general purport may be described as an attempt

to answer the question : How did the chosen people, after God had revealed Himself to them, regard their daily life as a means of communion with Him? In what gifts and good things did they recognise His favours; and on the other hand, in what ills did they read His displeasure? This, it will be observed, is not an inquiry regarding communion of man with God in worship, at set times and special seasons, but rather an investigation into the relation and intercourse between the human soul and God, through the medium of those joys and sorrows which constitute the vicissitudes of life. In such a discussion, three main questions arise and demand an answer : What position did an Israelite who believed in Jahvé assume in relation to the common gifts of life? What other good things did he recognise beside these? Further, did he know Jahvé as the highest good, and if so, how was this consciousness developed? It will at once be obvious that there may be a wide interval between the words proclaimed at Sinai, "I am Jahvé thy God," and the utterances of Psalmists who were brought to recognise God as their highest good.

Before entering on the actual treatment of his theme, the author carefully defines his attitude to the Old Testament Scriptures. His position may briefly be indicated as that of a sober and reverent critic who accepts many of the results presented by others regarding the date and authorship of certain books, and their composite character, but who can give good reason for standing midway between the extremes of pure conservatism and radical rejection of old beliefs.

As the whole subject is treated historically, the work falls into two main divisions, which successively deal with the good things and ideals of ancient Israel, and the reaction, under the prophets, against the secularising tendency of the people. The latter portion is decidedly the more interesting, but particularly the two closing chapters,—on the new ideal of life presented by the prophets, and the dawn of the consciousness that God is the highest good of the individual. The reverent spirit pervading the whole lends an additional charm in the study of a subject highly attractive in itself.

JAMES KENNEDY.

Die israelitische Vorstellung vom Königreiche Gottes, als Voraussetzung der Verkündigung und Lehre Jesu, in geschichtlichem Ueberblicke dargestellt.

Von Dr Georg Schnedermann, Professor in Leipzig. Leipzig: Deichert; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, ss. viii. u. 54. M.1.

IN this brief treatise, Professor Schnedermann continues his examination of a subject which has long been engaging the

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attention of theologians. In a previous publication, already noticed in this Review,¹ the teaching of Jesus regarding the Kingdom of God was carefully examined; in this further instalment, the writer has been working back in the history of Israel, through the ages before the times of Jesus, and endeavouring to trace the origin and development of this grand idea, especially with the view of determining, as far as possible, the influence of earlier conceptions upon the teaching of Jesus. He was delighted to find that the outcome of his investigations could be presented much more briefly than he had anticipated; but his readers also will be pleased to have these results set forth here in clear and compact form.

The main conclusion reached is that the Christian conception of the Kingdom of God was gradually developed, from the primary view taken of Israel as a nation with God as their King. In tracing the genesis and growth of this idea through successive stages in Old Testament history, occasional reference is made to other writers whose opinions are acutely criticised. As we might expect, much of this special attention is shown to Ritschl and his followers, who rather too strongly emphasise certain aspects in the idea of the Kingdom of God, to the neglect of others, and thereby give currency to erroneous views. Careful examination is made of various points which naturally emerge in the course of investigation, such as the question regarding the probable thoughts of reflective Israelites regarding God as King, before the monarchy had been set up, and concerning the views of later Israelites after the kingdom had actually been established in the persons of Saul, David, and Solomon. In taking exception to the opinions expressed by other writers, admirable tone and temper are displayed.

JAMES KENNEDY.

Das Evangelium des Paulus.

Dargestellt von C. Holsten. Teil II. Paulinische Theologie nebst einem Anhang: "Die Gedankengänge der paulinischen Briefe" herausgegeben und mit einem Abriss von Holsten's Leben eingeleitet von D. Paul Mehlhorn, mit dem Bildniss Holsten's. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1898; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 173. Price, M.5.

THIS work crowns the research of a life. Holsten's first book on Paul was published in 1868, five years before Pfleiderer's Paulinism, the second followed in 1880, and now we have this the third and

¹ *Critical Review*, Vol. vi. p. 78.

last. It is the harmonious development of the earlier writings and rests largely upon them. If much of it seems almost commonplace to-day we must remember that Holsten was first in the field with ideas that are now widely spread. The sketch to be briefly summarised in its more important points founds only on the four great epistles.

The religious consciousness of Paul was rooted in the Hellenised Jewish consciousness of his time. He took over from it certain fundamental views of God and the world, and the forms of his thought were Jewish. But its chief content was Christian. Here Paul was absolutely dependent on Jesus and conditioned by Him. Yet it was hardly the Jesus of the synoptic tradition that was thus influential. For Paul indeed Christ only lived that He might die on the cross and be raised again. It was as a persecutor that Paul became acquainted with the Petrine gospel, and what first kept him from faith was this very death on the cross. As a Pharisee he could not object in principle to the Resurrection or the subsequent appearances. He could only deny that they had happened in the case of Jesus. Neither could he refuse the idea of a propitiatory death. He could only appeal to the Old Testament as excluding the conception of a crucified Messiah. But Jesus and a possible atonement through Him took possession of his thoughts and there crept into his heart a great longing to believe. The wonderful personality of Jesus had fascinated him against his will. The certainty that the Crucified was alive, which came to him on the way to Damascus, arose from the fact that He had appeared in life to him. The for him undoubted appearance overcame all logical objections. He was satisfied that Jesus was alive, and this wrought his conversion. He could only conclude that this new life was the result of a resurrection from the dead effected by the omnipotence of God, and that therefore Jesus was the Messiah so long foretold. And now one puzzling question after another thronged his mind. Before all else he had to consider how the death on the cross could be conceived as an act of God and an end of the divine saving will. That it was so was the certainty which grounded all, the original presupposition of the train of thought that now began in the mind of Paul.

The words of Jesus at the Supper and the Gospel of Peter, both of which spoke of an expiatory death, had made the cross generally conceivable to Paul. If Jesus was the Messiah then He was sinless and therefore His death was not the result of His own guilt. The death was a vicarious expiation by which the believer was freed from punishment. But did this forgiveness make him a sharer in salvation? Salvation was a consequence of righteousness. Were those who were forgiven righteous? Certainly not in the Jewish

sense, certainly in the Pauline. The death was only necessary if righteousness could not be obtained by the works of the law. And if the death was for our salvation it must bring with it righteousness as the positive condition of salvation. Therewith the Jewish conception of righteousness passes over into the Pauline one of justification, *justitia* becomes *justificatio*, though the word *δικαιοσύνη* remains. For the new conception Paul coined the expression *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ*. Without question this is not a subjective attribute of God but a condition wrought out for man by God. It is not an inherent subjective quality in man, but an objective state in which we live and abide in the view of God who orders the world. The direct consequence of the objectivity of the righteousness is a pure receptivity on man's part. That righteousness which is the condition of life can only be received by us. This act of receptivity is faith in its narrower and technical sense. The object of saving faith for Paul is the Messiah as crucified. Faith is faith in the God who, on the ground of the crucifixion of Christ, endured out of love for sinful men, graciously forgives sinners their guilt, and on the basis of the forgiveness reckons them as righteous. Faith is the inner relation of the religious ego to a spiritual object, to a revelation, a promise of God, which does not address itself to the will and demand any outward act, but appears to the consciousness and demands recognition. We believe with the heart. Faith is pure inwardness. It is related to something of which I am inwardly convinced, while works relate to something which ought to be. Faith carries what we think and know into the spirit, from the head to the heart. The object of faith is purely spiritual and ideal, and faith is the unquestioning inward recognition of it and certainty regarding it. Faith is not a kind of precarious knowledge but the completest certainty. Faith is first a theoretical knowing, then a certainty, and finally a devoted trust and thus a living spiritual force. It is a union in the soul of knowledge, feeling and will. It is the soul's appropriation of the salvation of God, and as actual righteousness is never attained by us here we can never do anything else than exercise this faith, can never rest on aught else than the satisfaction of Christ. From all this the universality of the righteousness follows. If it has been given to sinners in spite of their sin, it must be given to all. If righteousness is only through faith, then it must be for all who believe.

Paul had concluded from the fact of the Messiah's death and from the impossibility of its being needless that righteousness could not be achieved by the law. But this impossibility could only be grounded on the fact that in spite of the law man necessarily remains a sinner. The Jewish consciousness recognised the universality of sin but not its necessity. Sin and righteousness issued

from the freedom of man. By the word "flesh" was expressed essentially the idea of transitoriness and weakness. But with Paul the word has a wider meaning. It includes all that is ungodlike in man's nature, and lust is the necessary outcome of the flesh. The ultimate ground of the sinfulness of the flesh is not clear in Paul's thought. To the question, "Was Adam sinful because he was flesh, or was flesh sinful because Adam sinned?" Paul seems to have no definite answer. We may infer from a comparison of passages that he would have taken the first view, but he did not draw the consequence that then the sin went back to the Creator. But is there no power in man's nature which can overcome the flesh and its lusts? There cannot be or sin were no longer a necessity. Only the Spirit of God has the desired power and the natural man wants this absolutely. It is given to the believer as a gift of God. Apart from Christ man cannot but sin. Paul thinks of sin or *ἁμαρτία* as something in the nature of man, not as an act of conscious will. It is that evil inclination of man which lies at the basis of every sinful act. And this is rooted in the flesh. There is no *ἁμαρτία* without *σάρξ*, and no *σάρξ* without *ἁμαρτία*. Man has freedom of will, indeed, but not freedom of action. Man in himself, without Christ, is, as far as ethical action is concerned, determined to sin. The formula for his case is *non posse non peccare*. *παράβασις* is always *ἁμαρτία*, but *ἁμαρτία* first becomes *παράβασις* when there is conscious breach of a command. Sin without consciousness of itself is not guilt. Sin that has passed into transgression and guilt ends in death.

But this involves a change in the conception of the Messiah. The Messiah must have been sinless, yet if He was flesh like other men, He must have sinned. So two contrary demands were made upon Paul. Christ must not have a body of flesh if He was to be sinless, and He must have such a body if He was to die. That the Messiah might be sinless, Paul thought of Him as the heavenly man created by God at the first, according to the Alexandrian theology, the image of God, His son, the possessor of a spiritual body. As this created heavenly man Christ was naturally pre-existent. This man was sent by God to the earth. The pre-existent Christ assumed a body of flesh and became the man Jesus. As heavenly man and sinless, He became sin through His assumption of the flesh. But subjectively He never became a sinner, as He had power through the Spirit of God, the ruling force in His nature, to overcome the lusts of the flesh. And thus was He able to die on the cross as He could not have done in the spirit. In Jesus the Christ received a body whose substance was the flesh of sin, and when the body of Jesus was brought to the cross sin was slain. As the heavenly man without flesh, Christ is the spiritual

archetype of man and the Saviour of all, without regard to fleshly distinctions. Further, what actually befel in Christ is directly but ideally accomplished in every believer. We see prefigured in Him what is the law of life for all, and this thought completes in a genuinely religious spirit the doctrine of righteousness and of substitution. Paul's conception of the cross thus transformed the historic Jesus into a dogmatic personality. For Paul the nature of the Christ must always correspond to His work.

It is not possible here to follow Holsten any further in his development of the apostle's thought, and for what follows, as well as for many suggestive and ingenious details necessarily omitted from this summary, the reader must be referred to the book itself. He will learn much, both when he agrees and when he differs. The reading of such an account of Paul's doctrine suggests many questions. Here is an acute exegesis, the work of an undoubted scholar, yet how strangely it must strike the ordinary man. Some things it brings out as orthodoxy does, others it renders quite differently. And those who have studied many such interpretations, and noticed how at points here and there all along the line they differed at once from orthodoxy and from one another, will find certain suggestions inevitably arising in their minds. Are not those who profess to care nothing for the apostolic authority sometimes unconsciously influenced by the desire to have so great a doctor of the Church on their side of this question or that? Do those who imagine themselves to rest on the Pauline authority not really allegorise a little? Do they not unconsciously refuse to make Paul believe anything that does not seem credible to them, picking and choosing and altering, and at best only dimly suspicious of what they do? A book like this raises many questions. Paul argued with his readers, and expected adhesion to his arguments. But if we are not convinced by his arguments or cannot accept all his premises, what then? There are previous questions he never dreams of asking. What if we should find ourselves irresistibly driven to ask them? Again, criticism works with the category of development, and men naturally ask whether that must not find a place in the New Testament. There has of course been a development in the Church beyond the apprehension of the new revelation achieved by the early believers, but how far back can we go with that? Criticism, too, explains things by their environment, and this has suggested further questions. Is Paulinism then the product of a particular time, and impossible of reproduction in all its details at any other? Is it not a bridge from the old to the new? Mr Somerville in his Cunningham Lectures does far more justice than Holsten to the fact that Paul's views were

the transcript of a religious experience. The latter tends too much to the idea that Paul's system was evolved in his mind by sheer logic from the barest of premises. Both books illustrate constantly what has been said above. To convince us that Paul held a certain view is one thing, to convince us of its truth is quite another. We must wait for the ideal exposition till we have learned to separate clearly between Paul's questions and ours, recognising which of ours he has not asked, and which he has not answered even indirectly. Perhaps it may then be found that orthodox and heretical alike have laid too great stress upon the supposed systematic character of Paul's thought. Of course a certain school has long made much of the fragmentary and occasional character of Paul's writings and has eked them out by a so-called tradition. This is obviously not to rest on Paul's authority, and on such a method of interpretation it is not hard to make a writer mean anything you please. But there is another aspect of the matter to which one feels that less than justice has been done. Paul had something of the poet in him, and he was a man of moods. He expressed himself strongly on occasion, and would have been surprised and even indignant had one sought to fix him down to a literal interpretation of all he had written. He would have bidden us think of the context of feeling. He did indeed love arguments, but they were generally *ad hominem*, and often the man addressed was himself. But he was a mystic in the first place, and a logician only in the second.

The present writer studied under Holsten for a semester, and a closing word of a more personal kind may be allowed. This book, while giving a faithful representation of the author's views on the matter in hand, only very partially reveals his personality. Much that was most interesting in Holsten's lectures occurred in his extempore comments and explanations. Unfortunately the German student never seems to think of taking down such things and there is nothing of that kind here. Holsten was an admirable scholar. He had been a schoolmaster before he became a professor, and he prided himself upon basing everything on an impregnable grammatical foundation. But he was no dryasdust, as even a stranger may gather from the biographical sketch which accompanies this his last book. There was about him a very genuine religious enthusiasm, and he cherished a positive hero-worship for Paul. He was greatly fascinated by the logical character of Paul's thinking, the fearlessness with which he followed principles to their consequences, and shunned the miserable compromises of weaker men. His work was perhaps somewhat marred by an undue confidence in himself and in the truth of what he had made his own by arduous inquiry. But these are not the failings of a little mind, and all that he did had the

decisive merits of originality and insight. His earlier work was influential. Latterly, one fancied, he stood more alone. Though not a pupil of Baur's he stood in the direct line of succession to him, and we appreciate his work most when we think of the advances he made towards what we should count truer views. He was open to new influences, capable of new convictions, but always building on the first principles from which he had started. In his personal relations he ever showed himself kind of heart and he has still a place in the affections of those who have listened to his voice and watched him, now proud and exultant, now stirred beyond the wont of common men, moved even to tears. Others may be content to think of him as one of the many fine scholars and religious teachers for whom we have had to thank Germany in our time.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON.

Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.

Das Buch Hiob. Von D. B. Duhm. 8vo, pp. xvi. 212. Price, M.4.80; to subscribers, M.3.60.

Die Fünf Megillot, (Hohelied, Ruth, Klagelieder, Prediger, Esther). Von K. Budde, A. Bertholet, D. G. Wildeboer. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig, und Tübingen: J.C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 202. Price, M.4.0; to subscribers, M.2.70.

THE plan of this series was described in the July number of the *Critical Review*, and is faithfully adhered to in the volumes before us; for instance, the tabular analysis of Job furnishes a most useful index to Professor Duhm's views as to the composition of the book. He finds in it, apart from later glosses, four main classes of material. The Prologue and Epilogue are taken from a popular work, *Volksbuch*, composed before the publication of Deuteronomy, and referred to in Ezek. xiv. 14 ff. The discussion between Job and his friends, and the speeches of Jehovah are, substantially, by a Palestinian author of the first half of the fifth century. The Elihu speeches and some connected passages, e.g. viii. 14-19, are by a much later writer. A large number of passages have been added by other writers, notably xii. (most of), xxiv., xxviii., xl. 15—xli.

The general character of the analysis is similar to that of Professor Siegfried in Dr Haupt's *Sacred Books of the O. T.*, which it resembles in many of its details. Siegfried also discovers four main classes of material, the discussion and part of the Jehovah speeches; the Elihu speeches, &c.; and two other classes of additions, which four correspond to three of Duhm's. Siegfried, how-

ever, accepts the Prologue and Epilogue as part of the original book. Duhm's view removes the difficulties caused by regarding these narratives as the work of the author of this discussion, and yet explains why they are presupposed in the discussion. The author is not responsible for the narratives, they do not express his views, but he did not feel at liberty to set them aside. Perhaps, however, the needs of the situation would be equally met by a theory that the author composed these sections on the basis of a well-known popular narrative, the main features of which he felt constrained to reproduce.

Duhm decisively, almost contemptuously, rejects the recent proposals to rehabilitate the Elihu speeches, made by such distinguished scholars as Budde and Cornill. "The author of these speeches cannot be seriously compared as a thinker and poet with the author of the original poem . . . they are strikingly empty . . . their secondary character, *Unechtheit*, is universally known and recognised, and the last attempt to establish their genuineness merely serves to convince every intelligent reader that they are *not genuine*." We shall look with interest for some notice of this volume by Budde or Cornill.

Duhm's analysis simplifies the problem as to the purpose and teaching of the book. The original poem is a protest against the current doctrine of retribution, for which it cannot discover any substitute. Job merely finds an anodyne, as it were, in the immensity and mystery of Nature. The reason of misfortune remains a riddle. The Elihu speeches and other additions are mostly attempts to adapt the book to orthodox Jewish teaching.

Duhm partly accepts Bickell's theory as to the metre of Job.

By means of an emendation, partly adopted from Bickell, xix. 25-27 is translated thus :

"I know that I have a *Goel*,
And a survivor upon the dust (of my grave),
Another will arise as my witness,
And will set up his sign,
Out of my body, I shall see *Eloah*,
Whom I shall see—for myself !
And my eyes shall see him, and no stranger (shall),
My reins fail in my bosom."

The sign is some miracle to be wrought on his grave in token of his innocence ; he contemplates rising, like Samuel, 1 Sam. xxviii., to witness his own vindication, and to obtain that vision of God approving and acquitting him, for which he yearned. Duhm regards these verses as original, and not, like Siegfried, as secondary.

In the *Fünf Megillot*, the section on Canticles is specially

important, because therein Professor Budde applies his theory of the nature of the book to its exposition. Earlier critics had suggested that this book was a collection of songs; but the particular view in question originated in J. G. Wetzstein's accounts of a Syrian custom, according to which, during the first week after marriage the young couple play at king and queen, and are addressed as such by a mock court, in a series of songs similar to those in Canticles. Hence Canticles has been supposed to be a collection of songs sung on such occasions. This view has been adopted by Cornill, Kautzsch, and others, but its chief champion is Budde. A crucial test of a theory is the possibility of applying it to continuous exposition. In this volume he succeeds, without obviously strained interpretation, in explaining the text according to his theory. Thus the commentary is an answer to C. Bruston's criticism, apparently endorsed by Driver, that Budde's theory "cannot be carried through consistently without considerable violence to the text." Similar criticisms would apply to the various elaborate explanations of the book as a drama.

Canticles has enjoyed a unique history; its songs have, as Budde tells us, been bawled out in taverns as drinking songs by hilarious second century Jews; and it has been used as an allegory of the relations of Jehovah and Israel, and of Christ and the Church. It would be strange if the text had not suffered in the course of such a history. Moreover, Budde does not contend that we have exactly a single cycle of songs used on such an occasion; more than one such cycle has probably been laid under contribution; and there have been redactions, in the course of which, passages have been omitted. Omissions would naturally be made in the transition from epithalamium to allegory. Budde dates the book in the third or second century B.C.

The section on *Lamentations* is also by Budde. He rejects the theory that iv., v. are Maccabæan; but also denies that any part of the book is by Jeremiah. He ascribes ii. and iv. to an eye-witness of the sack of Jerusalem, probably a member of Zedekiah's court; v. was composed about 550; i. not earlier than 430; and iii. in the third century B.C.

Ruth is by Lic. A. Bertholet. Although he accepts a historical basis to the extent of an alliance between David's family and Moab, he regards the book as a work of the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, composed as a protest against their prohibition of marriage with foreigners. The closing genealogy is a later addition.

Professor Wildeboer is responsible for *Ecclesiastes* and *Esther*. He dates *Ecclesiastes* about B.C. 200, in substantial agreement with most modern critics. In discussing the composition of the book, he sets aside the ingenious theory of Bickell that its incoherence

is due to the accidental transposition of the leaves of a MS.; and the various theories held by Dr Paul Haupt and others, that Ecclesiastes has been largely added to by editors to render it a less dangerous and more edifying work. He defends its integrity, even accepting the Epilogue. Its lack of sequence and consistency is explained by supposing that it is a kind of commonplace book in which the author recorded his varying moods and contradictory impressions of life. Similar views have been advocated by Nowack and Plumptre, and in a measure by Cheyne. Nevertheless, the very striking reconstruction of the text and of its redaction by Dr Paul Haupt, makes one hesitate to accept even such weighty authority for its integrity.

Wildeboer dates *Esther* after B.C. 135; and sees in the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes the suggestion of the massacre planned by Haman. The view taken of the origin of the book is somewhat startling. The account it gives of the establishment of the Feast of Purim is quite wrong. This feast was borrowed—according to our author, and Jensen, whom he follows—by the exiled Jews from their Persian and Babylonian neighbours. It was originally a New Year's Feast of the Babylonians, with which the Jews combined elements from the Persian New Year's Feast of "All Souls." The story of *Esther* is a metamorphosis of a Babylonian myth, in which Merodach (Mordecai) and Ishtar (*Esther*) contend against and overthrow the Elamite deities Humman (Haman) and Vashti. Mythology and folklore reveal stranger transformations. Professor Gwatkin used to be fond of relating how the history of George of Cappadocia, peculating pork-contractor and Arian bishop of Alexandria, became the legend of St George and the Dragon. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that the coherent and dramatic story in *Esther* is an adaptation of a myth, with which it has little but names in common, even though much of the myth seems a deduction from our book.

W. H. BENNETT.

Die Auslegung des Hohenliedes in der jüdischen Gemeinde und der griechischen Kirche.

Von Lic. Wilhelm Riedel, Privatdocent der Theologie in Kiel.
Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg
Böhme); London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898.
Pp. 120. Price, M.2.40.

IN order to vindicate the canonicity of the Song of Solomon the Jews early interpreted it in an allegorical fashion, explaining it mostly of the relation between Jehovah and Israel. Of this in-

terpretation the Targum and the Midrash Rabba on the book give us a good idea. The former, which was written not earlier than the sixth or seventh century A.D., is neither a literal translation, nor a mere paraphrase, but a commentary. The Song celebrates the love of God to His chosen people and the love of the people to God. From i. 2 to iii. 6 it refers to the deliverance from Egypt and the giving of the law; from iii. 7—v. 1, to the building of the temple by Solomon; from v. 2—vii. 12, to the first exile and the return, to the rising under the Maccabees, and the second exile; and in vii. 13—viii., to the last conflict with the heathen world and the final glory. The Midrash Rabba, written in the eighth or ninth century, is a compilation of all the interpretations known to the author. The Song must be interpreted to the glory of Israel; in it God lauds us and we laud Him. As a rule "Solomon" must be understood as being God, and the bride is the Jewish people. Any interpretation that follows this principle is admissible; for God's word has not one meaning, but an infinite number.

Hippolytus is the first Christian exegete of the Song. He simply Christianizes the Jewish interpretation: the bridegroom is Christ and the bride is the Church. Origen admits a historical sense of the Song, but it is only the allegorical interpretation that brings out its real meaning. Solomon is Christ; his companions are either the angels, or the prophets and patriarchs, or the teachers of the Church. In his Homilies the bride is usually the Church, but sometimes the individual Christian soul. In his Commentaries it is otherwise: in these the latter interpretation is the most common. The maidens accompanying the bride are the catechumens; the daughters of Jerusalem are the unbelieving Israelites; the Song celebrates the union of the heavenly bridegroom with His Church, or of the Logos with the soul. Gregory of Nyssa admits only an allegorical sense; this sense is a sacred riddle, which it is often difficult to read, and which only the perfect and pure soul can understand. The bride is usually the soul of the individual perfect Christian, though in certain sections (*e.g.* iv. 1-11) it is the Church. The bridegroom is generally the Logos, but sometimes God. Chap. ii. 8 refers to the incarnation. Later expositors simply followed in the footsteps of Origen and Gregory. The crown in iii. 11 is the crown of thorns; Cyril of Alexandria finds a reference in viii. 1 to the *θεοτόκος*; Philo of Carpasia explains v. 1-6 of the death and resurrection of Christ; the golden ornaments of the bride in i. 11 are the holy martyrs, the silver studs are their wounds; vii. 4 must be understood of the Lord's Supper. Theodore of Mopsuestia is the only theologian of importance who opposed this allegorical interpre-

tation; according to him the Song was composed by Solomon in praise of his Egyptian bride. For this (along with other heresies) he was condemned by the fifth Ecumenical Council; but his interpretation has been adopted not only by the Nestorians, but also by the Ethiopian Church, which allows the Song to be read only by the older priests. It was not adopted however by his own friends and pupils. Theodoret argued energetically against it. In respect of the interpretation of the Song there was no fundamental difference between the schools of Alexandria and Antioch. Those who did not accept the allegorical interpretation were regarded as heretics. In the nineteenth canon of the Concilium Quinisextum the exegesis of the orthodox fathers was declared binding upon all in the future. Henceforth Greek expositors had simply to reproduce the earlier interpretations.

DAVID EATON.

Serubbabel.

Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der messianischen Erwartung und der Entstehung des Judenthums. Von Lic. Dr Ernst Sellin, a.o. Professor der evangelischen Theologie in Wien. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1898; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vi. 216. Price, M.4.50.

THIS is an attempt to fill up the gaps in our knowledge of the first post-exilic century, and thereby to throw fresh light upon the history of Messianic expectation and the origin of Judaism. In a short introduction Dr Sellin states the problem to be solved, and gives his own solution. He raises three questions: (1) How comes it that out of the exiles who returned in 538/36, and who had certainly a divine law and influential priests, but neither a law regulating everything nor a hierarchy, there arose the legal community of Ezra and Nehemiah? (2) The contemporaries of Deutero-Isaiah and Zechariah looked joyously and hopefully into the future; how comes it that so many of the Psalmists despair of everything earthly, and occasionally almost of God's mercy? (3) How comes it that the two so heterogeneous streams of legalism and heart piety flow peacefully in the common bed of Judaism? There is only one satisfactory answer to these questions. At the instigation of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, Zerubbabel was raised to the throne of Judah, and thus the Messianic Kingdom was begun; but he was speedily overthrown by the Persians, and died a martyr death for his people; Jerusalem was again laid waste; the temple was desecrated, and Messianic

hope was extinguished. On the one hand, despair because of this divine judgment, and on the other the ray of hope that a single religious genius (Deutero-Isaiah) cast into this dark night, explain fully (along with the commonly assigned causes) the origin of Judaism.

Chap. i. treats of Messianic expectation in Haggai and Zechariah. The Jews who returned from Babylon in 538/36 under Sheshbazzar (who is a different person from Zerubbabel) were full of Messianic hopes; they immediately built an altar, but refrained from rebuilding the temple, probably because they thought that the seventy years spoken of by Jeremiah were not yet elapsed. There were prophets among them, however, who laid more stress on signs of the times, whereby God spoke more clearly than by these numbers. Two historical events in particular inspired these prophets: (1) About 521/20 an important change occurred in the government of Judah: Zerubbabel, a descendant of David, became satrap. (2) The accession of Darius in 521 to the Persian throne led to a general rebellion throughout the empire; though this rebellion was soon crushed, it must have caused great excitement among the Palestinian Jews, so many of whose brethren were in Babylon. These two events led to a fresh outburst of prophecy. Both Haggai and Zechariah insist primarily on the rebuilding of the temple; when that is accomplished, a new glorious era will begin for Judah: (a) Jehovah will take up His abode in Zion. (b) The people will be gathered together in Palestine out of all lands. (c) The nations that have sinned against Jehovah and His people will be destroyed; all others will become His servants. (d) The land of Judah will be of marvellous fertility, and its inhabitants will enjoy great prosperity. (e) As soon as Zerubbabel has completed the temple, he will ascend the throne of David; he is chosen of God to be the Messiah. This is the most important of their expectations. Messianic hope in the wide sense, *i.e.* faith in an everlasting Kingdom of the House of David, is very ancient. Ezekiel shows that it was not crushed by the exile, and it revived as Cyrus advanced against Babylon. When the latter was at the height of his career, Zerubbabel was born (say in 540) to Shealtiel, the eldest son of Jehoiachin. What wonder if, whether in old or new strains, such words as Isa. ix. 6 ff. resounded among the people. The young prince received the Babylonian name "Zer-Babili," "seed or sprout of Babylon." He was probably brought back as a child in 538/36, and was made satrap when twenty years old. Most daring expectations became alive among the people; the prophets appealed to him to rebuild the temple; if he does so, great honour awaits him: he is the divinely chosen king of the new kingdom, which is to extend far and wide among the nations. Haggai

(ii. 23) only hints at this dignity. Zechariah, however, speaks plainly. He assures him that, in spite of difficulties, he will succeed in building the temple (iv. 9), and announces that he is to be king. The vision in iii. 1 ff. is meant to remove the people's fear that owing to their great guilt their representative, the high priest, cannot draw near to God. This acceptance of the priesthood is a pledge of something greater, viz., that Zerubbabel is to be king (v. 8. A comparison of vi. 12-13 with iv. 9 shows that the *Zemach* is Zerubbabel, of whom also Haggai ii. 23 uses the expression "my servant"). A precious stone is put in Joshua's charge; when the fit time comes, it is to be engraved and inserted in the king's diadem (v. 9). Verses 6-10 of chap. iv. stood originally between iii. 9 and 10. After Jehovah has said that He Himself will engrave the name *Zemach* in the precious stone, and remove the previous iniquity of the land, the prophet proceeds: "This is the word of the Lord unto Zerubbabel, &c." The great mountain of v. 7 is Persia; the closing words of that verse ("noble, noble is he") are the shoutings of the people to their crowned king; v. 10 means that they shall rejoice when they see Zerubbabel put the crown on his own head, as his reward for building the temple. Then follow iii. 10 and iv. 11 ff. We thus obtain two chapters that hang well together: the high-priesthood and the kingdom are divinely sanctioned; Joshua has received the clean mitre, and Zerubbabel the right to the precious stone of the crown; hence iv. 14: "These are the two sons of oil that stand before the Lord of the whole earth." In vi. 9 ff. Zechariah becomes even more explicit. He is commanded to take of the gold and silver given by brethren from Babylon, and make a crown for Zerubbabel; he is also to announce to these brethren God's purpose: *Zemach* is to be king; Joshua is to be high priest at his right hand; and they that are far off (the Babylonian Jews) will come and help to build the temple. This crown is meanwhile, like the precious stone, committed to the charge of the high priest. The zeal of the people in building the temple shows the great effect produced upon them by the prophet's message.

Chap. ii. treats of Messianic expectation in the pre-exilic prophets, especially in such passages as Hosea ii. 1 ff., iii. 5; Amos. ix. 11; Isa. iv. 2 ff., ix. 1-6, xi. 1-10; Micah v. 1-3; Jer. xxiii. 5 f., xxx. 4-9, 18-22, xxxiii. 14-26. Some of these passages are pre-exilic; they are all earlier than Haggai and Zechariah; several of them were interpolated as the exile was drawing to a close, or immediately after the Return, with distinct reference to Zerubbabel. It was then that Messianic expectation first laid hold alike of the prophets and the mass of the people.

In chap. iii. Dr Sellin sets forth the traces he has found in

history of an elevation of Zerubbabel to the throne and of his consequent overthrow. The dedication of the temple in 516 is the last event for many years of which we have authentic information. It is followed by a gap of sixty or seventy years. How are we to fill up this gap? Immediately after 516 the troubles of Darius began afresh; and these furnished an opportunity for the elevation of the satrap, which soon came to a violent end. This, it is true, is mere conjecture; but there are certain evidences that make it exceedingly probable: (1) The removal of the Davidic line from the governorship. Zerubbabel is the last Jewish satrap of David's house. Was this not the consequence of a rebellion? (2) The building of the wall by Nehemiah. Neh. i. 1 ff. takes us down to 445. Of what calamity befalling Jerusalem does Hanani there speak? He cannot refer to the destruction of the wall built by Ezra, for, notwithstanding Ezra vii. 7 and Neh. i. 2, Nehemiah's first visit to Jerusalem was prior to that of Ezra. Nor can he refer to the destruction of Jerusalem, 150 years before, by the Babylonians; Nehemiah is evidently mourning over some far more recent desolation. The true answer is as follows: Zerubbabel had succeeded in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem; these had again been destroyed by Israel's foes; in the interval the Jews had not been able to repair the breaches, and their condition remained deplorable. (3) The letter of Rehum to the King of Persia, Ezra iv. 7 ff., which is not inserted in its right place. Whether referring to Ezra or, as Dr Sellin thinks, to Nehemiah, it is genuine. Rehum, the satrap of Samaria, is also satrap of Judea. He complains to the king that Jerusalem is being rebuilt. If the king will consult the archives of his fathers (Xerxes and Darius), he will find that it has been a rebellious city, and has had to be destroyed. It were well, therefore, to put a stop to this new enterprise. He cannot be referring to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, but to a rebellion by the returned Jews against Persia, in consequence of which the city was again laid waste. (4) Nehemiah and Ezra found a kind of temple in Jerusalem, but in such a condition as proves that some great calamity had befallen it, since its rebuilding by Zerubbabel. (5) The reaction of the Priests' Code against Messianic expectation. This Code, introduced by Ezra and Nehemiah, completely ignores Messianic expectation. How could such a code have been accepted by the people, had not their hopes been utterly disappointed by some great catastrophe. (6) The position of the prophets in the community after Zerubbabel. The prophets, who had been the leaders in the Messianic movement, fell into discredit among the people. If one would prophesy, he must do so, for the most

part, anonymously. The elder prophets were not disavowed, but they were turned into teachers of the law. Thus, while we have no direct proof that Zerubbabel was raised to the throne, we have many evidences that, during the interval of seventy years, a fearful catastrophe had befallen the land, the temple, the people, and, in particular, David's house, burying under it the Messianic hope. Are we not justified in bringing this catastrophe into connexion with the elevation of Zerubbabel to the throne, which Haggai and Zechariah lead us to expect?

The rest of the treatise deals with various "sources," which are intelligible only on the assumption that Zerubbabel was raised to the throne and afterwards died a martyr's death. Micah iv. 8-14, Lam. iv. 17 to v. 22, and Isa. lxiii. to lxvi., which are all post-exilic, find at least their most adequate explanation on this assumption. But Isa. xl.-lv. is the strongest confirmation of this hypothesis. It is impossible to give more than a brief summary of Dr Sellin's conclusions: (1) These chapters are a unity. The author of these chapters is also the author of the sections treating of the servant of the Lord, and himself incorporated them in his book. (2) The book as a whole was written in Jerusalem; but the author had lived and written in Babylon, from which he had returned after the edict of Cyrus. Many passages in chaps. xl.-xlviii. speak of the deliverance through Cyrus as still future; but these are quotations from his own earlier predictions, inserted by him in the present book for a certain purpose. (3) He wrote the book in its present form between 515 and 500 for the purpose of comforting the people. But not in respect of their captivity in Babylon. Judah is despairing of its divine election; it has powerful enemies on all sides; Zion is depopulated and despised; the people are still scattered in the world; a special calamity has befallen the servant of the Lord; certain predictions have not been fulfilled. And how does he comfort them? Not by announcing a return from Babylon; but by asserting (a) that Jehovah is the one living God; (b) He will soon come Himself to His people, whom He has chosen for Himself by bringing them back from exile; (c) Israel will then be gathered together from among all peoples; and (d) the nations will then enter into the kingdom of God, and be subject to Israel. These are the "new" things he has to declare to them. They are only relatively "new"; absolutely "new," however, is all that he says regarding the servant of the Lord. Who is this servant? So far as he is not the people, but a definite individual, he can only be one person, viz., Zerubbabel. Deutero-Isaiah is a contemporary of Haggai and Zechariah, in whom Zerubbabel is called by God "my servant"; in what he says of the servant there is occasionally a play on the name, Zemach; what is said of

his activity and vocation suits a prince like Zerubbabel far better than a prophet, priest or teacher of the law. This is especially true of the account given of his suffering in chap. liii. It reminds us of what we know from history as to the way in which Persia dealt with rebel satraps. Moreover, the consequences ascribed to his sufferings suggest a prince or king suffering for his people. It is true also of what is said of his exaltation and glory (vv. 10-12). Was not this servant a prince? could such things be looked for in the future of one who had simply been a prophet or teacher of the law? Note also how, in two passages (xlix. 7, lii. 15), mention is made of the effect produced by his activity and death, and by what follows these, upon kings. Does not the servant belong to the same category as these? The idea that the servant will rule among the nations is found also in xlii. 6, and more especially in lv. 4, which does not refer to David, but to the descendant of David, whom Jeremiah and Ezekiel looked for, and in whom the new covenant with the people will be established. It is thus that Deutero-Isaiah comforts his contemporaries. Through the overthrow of Zerubbabel all their hopes seemed blasted. It was the sharpest crisis through which the religion of Israel had passed. But Deutero-Isaiah rises superior to this despair. His watchword is: the vocation of the servant is not ended; he lives, he is triumphing, he is the bearer of a covenant between God and His people that will never pass away; because of his wounds Israel is healed; he will see an innumerable seed; he will also enlighten the Gentiles and will call them into his kingdom.

In a concluding chapter Dr Sellin discusses the witness of the Psalter to the fate of Zerubbabel. Ps. cxxxii. belongs to the time immediately after the completion of the new temple; the anointed in vv. 10 and 17 must be Zerubbabel. In such Psalms as xx., xxi., lxi. and lxiii., it is he that is spoken of as king; Psalms xlv. and lxxii. probably belong to the same time; Ps. lxxxix. consists of two parts: vv. 1-18 are a hymn in praise of God's grace and faithfulness in maintaining His covenant with David; while vv. 19-52, which are by a later author, can only refer to the overthrow of Zerubbabel. There are also Psalms, treating of the suffering servant of God, which become fully intelligible only on the assumption of the terrible suffering of *one* righteous person. In Ps. xxii. in particular there are both direct and indirect testimonies to the suffering of Zerubbabel. There are also allusions to his sufferings in the Book of Job.

Whatever may be thought of Dr Sellin's conclusions, his treatise is exceedingly interesting. He himself thinks he has certainly established two points: Zerubbabel was raised to the dignity of

king; and between him and Nehemiah-Ezra Jerusalem was laid waste and the temple desecrated. He also thinks it very probable that Zerubbabel is the individual servant of the Lord in Deutero-Isaiah, and that he died a martyr's death. DAVID EATON.

Das neu gefundene hebräische Stück des Sirach. Der Glossator des griechischen Sirach und seine Stellung in der Geschichte der jüdischen Theologie.

Von Dr A. Schlatter, Prof. in Berlin. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 191. Price, M.3.60.

De la Place faite aux Légendes Locales par les Livres Historiques de la Bible.

Par Maurice Vernes. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 51.

Studies in Hebrew Synonyms.

By James Kennedy. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. x. 140. Price, 5s.

PROFESSOR SCHLATTER of Berlin has edited the Hebrew fragment of Sirach for the benefit of German scholars. He gives the Hebrew, Greek and German in parallel columns. He has laboured under the disadvantage of not having the MS. before him, but his first column is not simply a reproduction of Cowley and Neubauer's edition. He has exercised his critical judgment throughout, and compared the text and margin of the English edition with the Syriac, Greek and Latin versions, for the purpose of arriving at the most likely readings. Suggestions of his own are put within square brackets. Dr Schlatter's notes will be found to be valuable. Each verse is examined and commented on. The state of the MS. affords plenty of scope for conjecture. In a considerable number of instances Dr Schlatter approves of the readings of the English editors. Sometimes he thinks better of those of Smend, who has also had the opportunity of examining the MS. Some of Cowley and Neubauer's translations are "impossible," others "have no sense." In the fine description of the sun in xl. 1-5, where the R.V. vaguely speaks of the sun "breathing out fiery vapours," C. and N. make out the Hebrew to mean, "a tongue of light smiteth the inhabited (country)." Schlatter "can have no faith in the tongue of light"; better admit at once that the whole thing is

uncertain. In the description of the moon in v. 8, where the R.V. makes her "the instrument of the hosts on high," C. and N. by operating upon the uncertain Hebrew get in the idea of "a host of rain-vessels on high." This excites Schlatter's wonder. "That the heavenly host consists of angels or stars, not of vessels, is certain." The German scholar's acute criticisms and plausible conjectures should help us in some degree to get nearer the actual meaning of this important "find."

The Greek text of Sirach is accompanied in a number of MSS. by interesting glosses in the form of verses written in the style of Sirach himself, and all manifestly by the same writer. In the second half of the present book Schlatter reproduces the whole series of these glossarial verses, translates them, and then writes an essay on the underlying ideas. Internal evidence leads him to the conclusion that the verses are pre-Christian and the work of a disciple of Aristobulus of Alexandria. Schlatter asks us, however, to "allow the Christian impression of these verses to work upon us with full force." It is remarkable that they contain almost all the essential words (*Kernworte*) of Christianity, *πίστις*, *γνώσις*, *μετάνοια*, *ἐλπίς*, *ὑπομονή*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *ἀλήθεια*, *υἱοὶ θεοῦ*, *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, &c. In the view of the unknown writer the fear of God is not the end of piety, love is the highest attainment.

"The fear of the Lord is the gift of the Lord,
For it leads to the paths of love."

Points of contact with Apostolic teaching are numerous; here are the Pauline "acceptance" and "rejection," "the lower parts of the earth," &c., and the fundamental scheme of John's testimony, consisting of the *λόγος*, light, life and love. Nevertheless the difference between the writer's ideas and those of the New Testament are clearly recognisable. "There is no Christianity," says Dr Schlatter, "without Christ. Where His word and the result of His life rule the course of thought and volition, there is Christianity. Not one of the glosser's verses has a clear relation to Jesus or to any New Testament saying." Still the unknown writer probably had an important place in the development of synagogue theology. Sirach's book would never have been preserved, still less would it have gained any relation to the Canon, if it had not been prized by the school of Aristobulus. "Extended by the glosses of a disciple of this circle, Sirach came into the Church of Alexandria and thence to Rome."

We have often wondered whether M. Vernes takes himself seriously. We have never been quite able to view him in that light. He is one of the foremost of French orientalists, but his historical

ideas are very singular. He declares that he is only applying to the history of Israel the same methods which have yielded satisfactory results in other lands (34), but to us his theories seem to be unique. He thinks that Hebrew history is largely composed from tombstones and imagination. A man's career begins at his grave. "The monuments are with us unto this day," local imagination does all the rest. When this faculty has had full play, "faith affirms in virtue of a dogmatic principle." Deborah, who was buried at Bethel (Gen. xxxv. 8), was merely a highly respectable nurse. But out of her grave sprang another Deborah, whom all the world knows. She is a product of the creative imagination working upon a tomb. "It is here," says the proud discoverer, "that our thesis triumphs in a manner almost insolent." We agree. M. Vernes states linguistic reasons for holding that the Song of Deborah was written in the fourth or third century B.C. It is nothing to him that all the critics, from Ewald to Moore, are dead against him. Kuenen may say of the Song that "form and contents alike prove that it is rightly ascribed by all competent judges to a contemporary." Moore may speak of it as "written by one who had witnessed the event." Such ideas "repose on a gross misunderstanding." Again, "the legend of Samuel is known; it occupies a great place in Jewish history, but it seems in the last analysis to rest solely upon the existence of a tomb at Ramah to the North of Jerusalem" (26). Saul had two tombs—two points of attachment for local imagination. Round one of them grew the story of the sons of Rizpah—*pauvres diables*, says the kind historian. The guardians of the other tomb also had their tales. Finally a compromise was effected, and local jealousies appeased, when the king's bones were removed—in imagination, of course—from Jabesh-gilead to Zela in Benjamin. We might remind M. Vernes that the first Emperor of the French also has two tombs. But is the public and private life of Napoleon the product of *l'imagination créatrice* of French professors?

In writing a book on Hebrew Synonyms Mr Kennedy enters a field which has been cultivated a good deal in recent years, though there is still no standard work on the subject. Mr Kennedy speaks of "the gains to Biblical science which may be derived from the careful observation of the way in which even single words are employed by the writers of the Hebrew Scriptures." The scope of his own work is somewhat limited. He seems to avoid all abstract terms and everything that more strictly belongs to the sphere of Biblical theology. He has sections upon twelve groups of nouns signifying *wall, lion, sheep, fool, coal, flood, oil, rain, rock, rod, ashes*, and *dust*; adjectives for *old, weary*, and *poor*; and verbs meaning

to *flee, wash, and pour out*. That some benefit is to be derived from such a study is beyond doubt. Take, *e.g.*, the terms for *fool*, to which ten pages are devoted. No word is of more frequent occurrence in the Wisdom literature. Here the Hebrews made unusually sharp distinctions, and it is always some "gain to Biblical science" to observe whether the person designated is a prating fool, a stubborn fool, a wicked fool, or a blundering fool—*נָבֵל*, *אֵוִיל*, *כָּסִיל*, or *סָכָל*. Mr Kennedy's whole work is very carefully done, and among the many Hebrew words not a jot or tittle has failed. His method is logical. Having made a sufficiently exhaustive induction of passages containing a certain word, and inferred from them the usual meaning of the word, he concludes with what we may call "riders," or applications of the result gained to the exposition of difficult passages containing the same word. The method is in general sound, but it has its limitations. It may always happen that the passages not included in the induction, but explained by the deductive method may be just the exceptions to the rule. Mere logic never makes good exegesis. Take the word *יִצְהָר*, oil. Having come to the conclusion that this term always signifies oil "not yet adapted for use by man in any way," Mr Kennedy gives us the rider that it is "clearly inadmissible" to explain Zechariah's two olive-branches—called *שְׁנֵי בְנֵי הַיִּצְהָר*, the two sons of oil—as *the two anointed ones*, the king and the priest. "Most expositors" do so, but they are wrong. Here is the right exegesis: "we rather seem called to think of the olive-branches as angelic mediators appointed for the abundant ministration of divine grace which finally manifests itself in the form of 'light and leading.'" That must be admitted to be sufficiently vague, whereas the meaning rejected has at least the merit of being profoundly interesting. Again, having defined *מִשְׁעָנָה* as "a staff properly so called, constantly employed as a means of support, especially for the aged and infirm, but even for younger persons who are weak," Mr Kennedy comes in due course to Elisha's staff, and remarks that the prophet's habit of carrying one "may safely warrant the conclusion that this man of God was not exceptionally vigorous." Like one of Shakespeare's folk Mr Kennedy is apt to be too "verbal." Instead of drawing an inference of this kind, he should have revised his definition, and admitted that a "something to lean upon" may be carried by the most vigorous. What conclusion would Mr Kennedy draw from the fact that in Psalm xxiii. 4, a *מִשְׁעָנָה* is carried by Jehovah? In twelve cases out of thirteen *מָבֹל* certainly refers to Noah's flood; therefore, says Mr Kennedy, the thirteenth case, in Psalm xxix. 10, refers to the same event. This by no means

follows; Ewald says "the word cannot be used here in the sense of the tradition." Mr Kennedy never touches any of the problems of higher criticism. But he proves a remarkably bold textual critic. He finds the Massoretic text often wrong, and "erroneous readings introduced by copyists are often of high antiquity." Indeed one of his objects in writing this book is to get "reliable guidance in recovering the true text of the Hebrew Scriptures, which, through the failings of transcribers, and from other natural causes, has in varying degree become corrupt, and hence at least obscure." The study of synonyms may serve to put matters right. Take, for example, the words עֶפֶר and אֶפֶר. The one, we learn, always means "dust," the other "ashes." When, therefore, the Textus Receptus makes Malachi declare that *the wicked shall be ashes under the soles of your feet* (iv. 3), Mr Kennedy says "the correct reading must surely be עֶפֶר, dust." Jeremiah calls Israel to *gird on sack-cloth and wallow in the ashes* (vi. 26), but "ashes are by no means so plentiful as dust, and we must therefore read אֶפֶר." Ezekiel announces that the wailing men of Tyre *shall cast up ashes on their heads, and in the dust shall they wallow* (xxvii. 30). Here "we may somewhat confidently correct the text": what the prophet of course said was that the wailers would throw dust upon their heads, and wallow in ashes. The copyists have evidently been very careless. The present critic, however, confesses that he has no belief in textual emendations of this kind. Why blame the poor copyists? It is possible that the prophets themselves were not adepts at synonyms.

J. STRACHAN.

Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums. Sein polemisch-apologetischer Zweck.

Von D. W. Baldensperger, Giessen. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 171. Price, 4s. 6d.

BALDENSPPERGER'S aim in this most interesting and ably reasoned publication is to show that the dominant purpose of the writer of the Fourth Gospel, was to dissipate the errors of those who believed in John the Baptist rather than in Jesus. No sooner is this declared to be the purpose of the writer than we immediately ask, Were there at the close of the first or beginning of the second century any number of persons who believed in the Messiahship of the Baptist, or who were so influenced by his teaching and that of his followers as to be divided in their allegiance to Jesus? Were there many such and was their influence of such importance as to evoke so

splendid a plea for the Messiahship of Jesus? The germs of opinion or of ignorance which might eventuate in the formation of a society indifferent to the claims of Jesus and resting rather in the Baptist's teaching, are visible in the group of disciples whom Paul found at Ephesus, and who had not so much as heard whether there were any Holy Ghost (Acts xix. 1-7). How this strange and significant development maintained itself, how it found nutriment in various Jewish ideas and customs, how it appealed to the prevailing thoughts and religious disposition, Baldensperger with care and learning illustrates. He also shows how the followers of John equally with the followers of Jesus might adopt the designation of Christians, and how the two parties might live in amity. The real essential difference of the two faiths emerged when in some great city, possibly Ephesus, numbers of John's disciples were absorbed in the Christian Church. Of this period of conflict the Gospel and the Epistles of John are the surviving documents.

A good deal of the chapter entitled 'Der historische Hintergrund' needs underpropping. The sects adopting the Baptist as their master are shadowy and obscure. Baldensperger with great ingenuity fills in the vague outlines; but of historical evidence does not adduce as much as is desirable. From the Clementine Recognitions he quotes: "unus ex discipulis Johannis affirmabat Christum Johannem fuisse et non Jesum"; and if this could be supposed to reflect an opinion still held at the date of the Clementines, we should be able to infer the existence of a sect of John's disciples. As it is we can only say that this portion of Church history requires further illumination. Meanwhile something may be gathered from the Gospel itself. If its opposition to such a belief in the Baptist be definite, then unquestionably that belief must have existed.

For this aim of the Gospel Baldensperger makes out a good case. He is not the first to suggest that the object of the writer was to refute the believers in John, by demonstrating that Jesus was the Christ. Grotius, in the introduction to his annotations on the Gospel, expresses the opinion that it was written to refute Judaizers, Gnostics, and those who preferred to be called "Johannis Baptistae sectatores quam Jesu." And on i. 15 his note is: "Ipsius Johannis publica confessione eos refellit qui Johannem omisso Jesu sectabantur deque ejus nomine dici se volebant." Unquestionably this idea of the object of the book is a key that unlocks some closed passages in the Gospel. Verses 6-8 of the Prologue have, even after plausible explanations, been felt to be abrupt and have sometimes been considered parenthetical. According to Baldensperger they are the hinge of the whole. They introduce the argument and explain why the Logos has been so

Baldensperger's Prolog des vierten Evangeliums. 73

described as the first verses describe Him. The Baptist is set in contrast with Him that his infirmity may appear. The Baptist 'became'; the Logos 'was'; the Baptist was sent *from* God, but the Logos was 'with' God; the Baptist is emphatically designed 'a man': the Logos 'was God.' And carrying this idea through the entire Prologue and through the Gospel Baldensperger certainly succeeds in shedding light into many dark corners. To give the detailed interpretation would be to reproduce the volume, and yet it is by the cumulative force of passage after passage, and allusion after allusion, that the impression is deepened that Baldensperger has made good his point. No doubt he may here and there fall into the snare of overdoing his thesis. It is easy, when once you have postulated this polemic purpose, to find evidence for it in every positive statement by merely manipulating judiciously the emphasis. Thus when the people who had been fed exclaim, 'This is of a truth the prophet'; by merely laying the emphasis on the pronoun you can construe the expression into a repudiation of the claims of John. But in the main Baldensperger is judicious and careful, and if he does not make good his case certainly so presents it as to demand consideration.

Baldensperger, although he may be guilty of here and there over-pressing his point, does not spoil his case by any attempt to read the Gospel as if no dangers threatened the Church save that which might arise from the followers of the Baptist. He does not find himself bound to interpret every statement of the Gospel by a reference to this one particular heresy. He believes that in view of errors arising within the Church regarding the actual claims of Jesus, and especially regarding his relations to the Baptist, some disciple, now unknown, proposed to himself the task of establishing the wavering in their faith. And in order the more effectually to accomplish his object, he found no better means than to publish his book "under the auspices of an eye-witness of the life of Jesus," and to appeal for the correctness of his representation to the beloved disciple himself. The writer, himself engaged in the strife, could not expect to be listened to, nor could his book make much impression as a mere party polemic written in the height of the conflict. It was essential to its success that it should not appear as arising out of the pressing needs of the present. This view of the authorship both detracts from the value of the Gospel and weakens the whole position of Baldensperger. Those whom it concerned must have been singularly simple persons if they could not detect the difference between a genuine apostolic production and a gospel thus sprung upon them to suit their opponents and the exigencies of controversy. Modern critics seem not only to adopt a very superior attitude towards the writers and officials of

the Early Church, in which perhaps they are justified, but to deny them even that small modicum of sense which happily the majority of men possess. Baldensperger's publication should, however, be read, not only for the sake of its main thesis, but also because it contains some acute and sound exegesis. MARCUS DODS.

**Was Christ born at Bethlehem? A Study on the
Credibility of St Luke.**

*By W. M. Ramsay, M.A., D.C.L. Hodder & Stoughton, 1898.
Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 280. Price, 5s.*

FEW scholars of modern times have attacked the problems of New Testament criticism with such *élan* as Professor Ramsay. No scholar, not even Lightfoot, has done more to lay sure foundations for the interpretation of the life and writings of St Paul. He has rehabilitated the character of St Luke as an historian; and, almost without referring to them, has shown the inadequacy of the assaults upon his trustworthiness. Every student of the New Testament feels himself enriched by Professor Ramsay's writings, and every fresh utterance of his is awaited with eagerness.

His present treatise will not disappoint. It contains a great deal of critical wisdom, and sheds much-needed light on the general principles which should guide the critic, and on the temper and attitude of mind he should maintain. But of course it is especially important as a bold acceptance of the challenge to judge St Luke's trustworthiness as an historian by the crucial passage, Luke ii. 1-4. This passage has been freely declared to contain "a blunder, or rather a complication of blunders; and if that be so, the entire story must be relegated to the realm of mythology, and the writer who mistakes fable for fact, and tries to prop up his mistake by an error of the grossest kind, can retain no credit as an historical authority."

In dealing with the credibility of St Luke, Professor Ramsay is careful to distinguish between slips in matters of a trivial kind and mistakes in essential facts. Error in the statement of matters of real moment for the narrative prevents us from using the author as a first-rate authority. "We cannot pardon any positive blunder in the really important points." We cannot argue that although he has erred in this or that essential matter of fact we may believe the rest of his narrative, when there is no clear evidence against him. If, on the other hand, we find that the serious errors charged against him are not proved, then we are justified in accepting his statements, even when entirely uncorroborated by other writers. His ascertained trustworthiness as an historian compels us to accept his single testi-

mony, recognising that in a period of history so obscure as that of the first century there are likely to be difficulties in historical writers which can only be solved by the discovery of fresh material.

That St Luke is an historian of the first rank Professor Ramsay, both elsewhere and here again, demonstrates. He rebukes writers of the type of Baur, Zeller, and Renan. "They argued that Luke was an able and beautiful but not very well-informed author, who lived long after the events which he records, at a time when all actors in those events had died, and when accurate knowledge of facts was difficult to acquire." Ramsay shows that on the contrary Luke's references to Asia Minor and Greece have a marked and peculiar individuality which is utterly unlike the vague style of a later author, narrating the events of a past age with the purpose of showing their bearing on the questions of his own day. In the first ninety pages of his book Professor Ramsay gives us an argument for Luke's trustworthiness which will not easily be demolished, and an understanding of the historian and his attitude, characteristics, and purpose which forms the best introduction to a perusal of his writings.

Approaching the crucial question of the census the arguments against its historicity are detailed: that it is a demonstrated fact that Augustus never ordered any general enrolment or census to be made of the whole Roman world; that even if he had done so, such an order could not have extended to Palestine which was an independent kingdom; that even if a census had been made in Palestine, that did not necessitate the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, since the Roman method of enrolment was to count the population at their actual residence; that no census was ever held in Judaea until A.D. 6-7; and that Quirinius never governed Syria during the life of Herod.

In regard to the first difficulty Professor Ramsay bases his solution and his defence of Luke on the discovery, made independently in 1893 by Mr Kenyon, Dr Wilcken and Dr Viereck, that periodical enrolments were made in Egypt under the Roman Empire, and that the period was of fourteen years. The same Greek term, *Apographai*, is used in the Egyptian documents and in Luke to indicate the census. Among the Egyptian papyri now being deciphered by Mr Grenfell and others actual census papers are being from time to time discovered which put this beyond doubt. The periodic years are from those documents found to be B.C. 23, B.C. 9, A.D. 6, 20, 34, and so on. These documents also show that in some parts at least of the empire the enrolment and numbering of the population according to their households was a distinct and separate process from the census and valuation, which previously was considered to be the only properly Roman kind of census.

"The system of periodic enrolments in Egypt is quite different from the system of rating and valuation." Consequently the periodic enrolment papers contain no statistics about property; "they are dated according to the year of the reigning emperor; they state accurately and exactly which periodic enrolment they are intended for; and they always use the phrase 'enrolment-by-household' ἀπογραφὴ κατ' οἰκίαν." The probabilities are in favour of the supposition that this system was initiated by Augustus. Professor Ramsay seems to us to establish this part of his contention unassailably. The only point to which objection may be taken is his assertion that Luke, by using the present tense ἀπογράφεσθαι in ii. 1, means that Augustus ordered enrolments to be regularly taken. It seems to us that such a statement is quite beside Luke's purpose; and, moreover, if this be the meaning of the words, αὔτη of v. 2 is left without a reference; whereas if the 'decree' refers to the particular order for that one enrolment αὔτη is in an intelligible and natural construction. The present tense can be otherwise explained, see Plummer *in loc.*

But was this system which appears to have prevailed in Egypt extended to the empire generally, and particularly to Syria? Here again Professor Ramsay in our opinion makes good his point, and shows that it is at least highly probable that the same system prevailed in Syria and that as there was an enrolment in A.D. 7, the preceding one would fall in B.C. 8-7 during the Government of Saturninus. From this census it is not at all likely that the dominions of Herod would be exempt because at that time he had lost the favour of Augustus; but it is quite likely that he would beg for delay. Professor Ramsay, by a review of the circumstances in which Herod was placed, makes it appear highly probable both that he should appeal to Rome for delay and that delay should be granted. This delay would bring the actual enrolment down to the year 7 or 6 B.C. The other data given by Luke afford, in Professor Ramsay's judgment, "reasonable confidence that 6 B.C. was the year of Christ's birth."

That Quirinius was governor of Syria in that year is not contended. From 7-4 B.C. that office was held by Quinctilius Varus. "In this difficulty I see no outlet in any direction, whether favourable or unfavourable, to Luke, except in the supposition that the foreign relations of Syria, with the command of its armies, were entrusted for a time to Quirinius, with a view to his conducting the difficult and responsible war against the Homonadenses, while the internal administration of the province was left to Saturninus or to Varus (according to the period when we place the mission of Quirinius)." But Professor Ramsay does not very satisfactorily answer the question, why in this case did Luke not name Varus,

the ordinary governor, instead of the extraordinary officer? This, of course, is the hinge of the difficulty, why is Quirinius called governor at that date? And it would have been desirable for Professor Ramsay to furnish us with a more adequate explanation. What he offers is really no better than, if so good as, the old idea that Quirinius was appointed by Augustus to see to the enrolment in Palestine. Mr Rushforth (*Latin Historical Inscriptions*, p. 25) says that the census in a province was ordinarily carried out by officials of equestrian rank on the governor's staff, to whom special districts were assigned. And M'Clellan (*New Testament*, i. 398) shows that ἡγεμονεύειν could be, and was used of such officials, and supposes that the name of Quirinius appears in Luke rather than that of Varus, "partly because of the closer connexion of the Procuratorial office with all purposes of the census, and partly because of the fame of Quirinius in the later Legatine Governorship for taxing in A.D. 6." But whether Ramsay can be followed in every particular or not, he has made a great contribution towards the solution of one of the hardest historical problems of the New Testament.

MARCUS DODS.

The Poetry and the Religion of the Psalms.

By James Robertson, D.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1898. 8vo, pp. xvi. 360. Price, 12s.

IN this volume, which embodies the *Croall Lectures* of 1893-4, Professor Robertson examines the dates of the Psalms, the religious feelings of which they are the expression, and the character of the religion of Israel under the monarchy. The first Lecture is introductory; in the second the author gives a survey of the historical criticism of the Psalms, with particular reference to critics of the past century. In Lecture III. he states the principal arguments which have led recent critics to treat the Psalms all but entirely as a product of post-exilic Judaism. In Lectures IV.-VI. he traces the external and internal evidence, tending to show that at least the beginnings of Hebrew psalmody must be assigned to the pre-exilic age, and even to an early period in it. Lectures VII. and VIII. are devoted to showing that in pre-exilic times the poetic faculty was sufficiently cultivated among the Hebrews for lyrics such as those of the Psalter to be possible, and also that there was no lack of occasions of historical and national significance adequate to call out the national feeling observable in the Psalms. Lecture IX. meets the objection derived from the difficulty of assigning specific historical occasions for individual Psalms, by pointing to the large

subjective and idealizing element characteristic of the Psalms, which is unfavourable to references to specific events. Lecture X. examines the conceptions found in the Psalter respecting the nature and attributes of God and the moral distinctions of human society, with the object of showing that they are of a character which might have arisen in pre-exilic times. Lecture XI. contains a discussion of the question who the speaker in the Psalms is, with special reference to Smend's theory that the 'I' of the Psalms is throughout the personified Jewish community. In Lecture XII. the author arrives at the last of the three questions started in Lecture VII. (p. 149), and adduces grounds for the conclusion that there was scope and possibility in pre-exilic times for a personal religion such as finds expression in the Psalms. Lecture XIII. is headed, 'David the Psalmist,' and its aim is to show that the circumstances of David's life, taken in conjunction with his character, literary and religious, are sufficient to account for many Psalms in the collection. The brief concluding Lecture re-affirms what may be said to be the main thesis of the entire volume, the contention, viz., that there existed in pre-exilic Israel a vital personal religion, such as is witnessed to by at least the more general of the Psalms.

Professor Robertson sets himself to oppose the critics: but he cannot altogether disown a critical method; and in the end his conclusions do not always differ greatly from those in which at least some critics have expressed themselves. At the outset (p. 47) he rejects the titles altogether as "authoritative or reliable indications of the authorship and occasions of composition of the Psalms to which they are attached": he also (p. 140) admits the possibility of there being Maccabean Psalms in the collection. The titles being thus discarded, and the Psalter—as even such a moderate critic as Professor Davison admits¹—being in all its parts a post-exilic compilation, Professor Robertson has to look about for other grounds in order to determine whether it contains any Psalms of pre-exilic origin. It may be at once conceded that, for a variety of reasons, it is probable that Hebrew psalmody had its origin in pre-exilic times, and that our Psalter contains pre-exilic compositions. Professor Robertson devotes two Lectures or more to this subject; and yet at the end he only arrives at what was admitted long ago by Robertson Smith (*O.T.J.C.*², pp. 220, 222), and has been admitted since by other critics, as Kautzsch (*Abriss*, p. 206 f.; ed. 2, p. 127), and, in particular, by a critic as "advanced" as Budde, who writes²: "I regard the refusal to admit the existence of exilic or pre-exilic elements in the Psalms as due to an exaggerated reaction against the traditional view; and as I cannot abandon the idea of a historico-

¹ *Praises of Israel*, p. 30 (compiled between 450 and 175 B.C.).

² *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1892, No. 10, p. 252.

organic growth of Hebrew psalmody, I *must* assume that much of pre-exilic origin has passed over in flesh and blood into the post-exilic psalter." Budde adds that his position does not require him to point out what these pre-exilic elements are. More than Budde admits is, however, not contended for—or, at any rate, not proved—by Professor Robertson; for he nowhere goes so far as to specify in detail the Psalms which he considers to be pre-exilic. Many of Professor Robertson's remarks on Smend's theory are just: the theory is applicable probably more widely than Professor Robertson would be willing to allow; but in Smend's hands it is certainly extended very unnaturally. This also, however, has been fully recognised by other 'critics,' as Robertson Smith (*O.T.J.C.*², p. 189), Budde (*l.c.*, p. 253), and Kautzsch (*Abriss*, p. 209; ed. 2, p. 132). The differences between Professor Robertson and critics are thus not as great as readers of his volume might be tempted to suppose.

On the existence of *Davidic* Psalms in the Psalter Professor Robertson proves very little. The titles, as we have seen, he discredits himself; even the heading 'Of David,' belonging to the original collection, does not, he declares, necessarily denote authorship (p. 136): the basis for any belief whatever in Davidic Psalms thus disappears. It is true, Ps. xviii. is attested independently by 2 Sam. xxii.; but 2 Sam. xxi.-xxiv. forms manifestly an appendix, and cannot claim to be the work of the well-informed author of the main narrative of 2 Sam. ix.-xx., 1 Kings i.-ii.; and, moreover, that the author of the title did not *know* the occasion of David's life to which he assigned the song is apparent from the vague terms which he used to describe it. Professor Robertson's treatment of Am. vi. 5 (p. 108 f., 339) is very unsatisfactory. What critics say of this passage is not that it implies that David's 'poetry was entirely secular and his music sensuous,' but that it states nothing about David's poetry at all; and in saying of the nobles of Samaria that "like David they devise for themselves—to be used, namely, at their banquets—instruments of song," that it refers to his music in a connexion which (in spite of what is urged on p. 108 f.) certainly suggests secular and not sacred music; the passage is not indeed *inconsistent* with David's having composed sacred music, but it cannot be appealed to *in proof of it*. The tradition which the Chronicler, in his usual manner, has evidently enlarged and embellished is that David applied music (including, as in such a connexion is certainly probable, song) as it had not been applied before to the service of the sanctuary. It is extremely difficult to think that this tradition is without basis in fact; but then (though no reader of Professor Robertson's pages would suspect it) there are critics who fully admit this: see, for instance, Robertson Smith, *O.T.J.C.*², p. 223 ("we have every right therefore to conclude

that the talents of Israel's most gifted singer were not withheld from the service of Jehovah"—a sentence which might have been written by Professor Robertson himself), Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 192, Cornill, *Eintl.* § 41, 7. When, however, we proceed to ask what specific Psalms may on the basis of this tradition be attributed to David, we are at once met by a difficulty; for hardly any liturgical Psalm, or Psalm adapted in the first instance for use in the services of the Temple, is ascribed in the Psalter (as Professor Robertson also admits, p. 136) to David: on the basis of the tradition which finds expression in the Chronicles, almost the only Psalm which we should be justified in ascribing to him would thus be the 24th. Nor do other considerations carry us further. Professor Robertson (p. 193 ff.) endeavours to show that the sanctity of Jerusalem dated from the days of Melchizedek: but when he has finished his argument, he writes (p. 199): "all this does not prove that Ps. cx. was written by David, or that it referred primarily to David in person." Elsewhere he argues that, David being a poet, and also a man of religious temper, and of susceptible emotions, who passed through a series of varied experiences, there was scope in his life for many of the Psalms attributed to him (p. 342). This, however, establishes very little. For, firstly, Professor Robertson does not enter into particulars, and consequently finds himself able to ignore altogether the incongruities of character, expression, and (especially) of situation, which in a number of Psalms seem to many conclusive evidence that David did not write them; and, secondly, as regards the remainder, the abstract fact that David *might* have written them is not proof that he *did* write them. Indeed, if the titles are of unknown origin (p. 67) and of unknown value, why should we look specially to David at all as their author? The rhetoric on pp. 349-351 does not prove more. It may be readily acknowledged that there is "a broad humanity in the Psalms"; but the grounds on which (p. 350) David suddenly appears as its spokesman are far from apparent. Altogether, Professor Robertson's treatment of the question of Davidic Psalms leaves much to be desired in respect of both definiteness and cogency.

Professor Robertson, in his eagerness to gain a point against the critics, is not always at the pains of acquainting himself properly with their arguments. It may, for example, be an arguable point whether the reasons which lead many critics to deny the authenticity of the closing verses of Amos are conclusive or not; but it is an entire mistake to call them 'arbitrary' (p. 187): they rest upon real facts, and they are altogether more substantial than the reader of Professor Robertson's description (*cf.* p. 109) would suppose. There are again grounds entirely independent of the difficulty to a

theory for doubting whether the songs in the historical books, referred to on pp. 147 f., 324, are really by the authors to whom they are attributed. The difficulty in Hannah's song, for instance, does not consist in its not containing more precise reference to Hannah's situation, but in its containing references *unsuitable* to it: it presupposes, viz., the monarchy, besides bearing purely literary marks of a much later date. The argument against Davidic Psalms derived from David's lament over Saul and Jonathan does not consist in any supposed impossibility of the same person being capable of writing secular and sacred poetry, but in the absence of any religious feeling on an occasion which, in a man of deep religious instincts, might naturally have been expected to elicit it. Who, however, would ever expect to find an expression of religious sentiment in the comic poem quoted on p. 331 as a parallel?

It is a defect in Professor Robertson's writings that his conclusions are apt to be in excess of what his premises justify, the fact being not, perhaps, always perceived by his readers in consequence of a certain vagueness of statement, which enables him, when he has actually proved a little, to argue and express himself as if he had proved a great deal. What he has *proved* about the existence in our Psalter of pre-exilic Psalms does not warrant him in speaking of them as familiarly and comprehensively as he does in his present volume. The great majority of Psalms are manifestly, upon various grounds, exilic or post-exilic; a minority, it may be freely admitted, with other critics, spring probably from pre-exilic times. A very few may even, perhaps, be Davidic; but it is impossible to think that Professor Robertson has done anything to neutralise the objections urged, for instance, by Robertson Smith (*O.T.J.C.*², p. 215 ff.) against the supposition that the great bulk of the Psalms, assigned by their titles to David, are really his. The admission—or contention—that we possess pre-exilic Psalms is one from which—at least as it is handled by Professor Robertson—no conclusions of any value can be drawn. It is not sufficient to say that a part, or even (p. 123) "a considerable amount," of Hebrew psalmody is pre-exilic: the Psalms differ often materially in character; and before any inferences can be drawn from such a statement, we must know specifically *which* Psalms may, with reasonable probability, be set down as pre-exilic. Is, for instance, the 8th, or the 19th, or the 22nd, or the 51st pre-exilic? If tangible grounds could be adduced for concluding these Psalms specifically to be pre-exilic—and still more if such grounds could be adduced for regarding them as Davidic—certain conclusions as to the theology or personal religion of the age in which they were written could be formed; but Professor Robertson adduces no specific grounds whatever: he nowhere even commits himself to a list of the Psalms

which he regards as pre-exilic ; still less does he state the reasons why he regards any particular Psalm as pre-exilic (except partially in the case of the royal Psalms). Thus at a point where precision is imperatively needed, he loses himself in generalities, and his reader is lost in them at the same time. It must, however, be clearly understood that unless his contention can be made more precise, it is of no value for the history either of the literature or of the religion of Israel. Some Psalms, let it be granted, are pre-exilic ; others are manifestly not pre-exilic : if any conclusions of importance are to be deduced from the former fact, it is clearly necessary that we should be informed distinctly *what* Psalms belong to the pre-exilic category. It is highly probable that the personal religion of the pre-exilic age has been underrated by some writers ; but even if that be the case, the *proof* of the fact must be deduced from those historical and prophetic writings, which, without reasonable question, belong to that age, not from the Psalms, of which only a minority can in any case be placed in it, and even those only in so far as they are in conformity, both literary and theological, with the fixed standard supplied by the prophets and historical books. The claim of the Psalms to a place in the pre-exilic age must, in other words, be established in *individual cases* much more securely than has been done in Professor Robertson's volume before any conclusions as to the history or character of the religion of Israel in that period can be drawn from them. S. R. DRIVER.

Die christliche Lehre von der Sünde.

Eine Untersuchung zur systematischen Theologie. Von Lic. Dr Carl Clemen, Privatdozent an der Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Erster Theil. Die biblische Lehre. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1897 ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vi. 272. Price, 6s.

Die Bekehrung Johannes Calvins.

Von Lic. A. Lang, Domprediger in Halle a. S. Leipzig : A. Deichert, 1897 ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vi. 57. Price, M.1.35.

IN Dr Clemen's interesting and able work, we have the first instalment of a large and serious undertaking. The author proposes to himself the task of treating in detail the Christian doctrine of sin, in accordance with the universally approved method of theological monographs, presenting first of all the Biblical doctrine, then the ecclesiastical doctrine, and, finally, the critical or systematic

doctrine, as it should appear in a scientific dogmatic treatise. It is evident that a thorough and satisfactory treatment of each of these three departments—biblical, ecclesiastical, and critical—cannot be given to each of the several dogmas of the Christian system in a single comprehensive treatise, and is possible only when a single dogma is treated monographically, as Ritschl has done with the doctrine of Reconciliation and Justification, and as Clemen proposes to do with the doctrine of Sin. The fundamental importance of the questions calling for discussion under the general subject of sin is sufficient reason for the selection of this doctrine for such minute and detailed investigation. The problems to be solved are of universal human interest, and are precisely such as need all the elucidation that Scripture, ecclesiastical decisions, and critical study can afford. Since the appearance of Julius Müller's great work, the first edition of which was issued in 1839 and the sixth in 1889, no attempt has been made to utilise the results of later exegetical, historical, and doctrinal investigations of particular points in the orderly treatment of the whole question. It is quite time that such an attempt should be made, and we therefore heartily welcome the beginning of the execution of this task by so well-equipped and thoroughly competent a theologian as the author of the present work.

Dr Clemen has already made a reputation for himself as a New Testament critic, by his works on the Chronology and on the Integrity of Paul's Epistles. In these works he has shown himself thoroughly independent, but, at the same time, painstaking and reverent. In the introduction to the treatise now before us, our author discusses from the critic's standpoint the chronological succession of the sources for the biblical doctrine of sin. In regard especially to Old Testament statements regarding sin, it is of great importance to understand clearly to what period the various books or portions of books in which these statements occur belong. Clemen, at the very outset, indicates his general agreement with the school of Old Testament criticism, with which the name of Wellhausen is commonly associated. We have, pp. 8-18, a very clear and summary sketch of what he considers the chronological arrangement of biblical writings and fragments inserted in these, beginning with the Song of Lamech and ending with 2 Peter, which he classes with the latest of the New Testament Apocrypha in or after A.D. 150. With great wisdom, however, Dr Clemen has refused to link the fortunes of his systematic work with the critical opinions of any one particular school. In some cases a purely ephemeral interest has been given to doctrinal treatises, which were made to stand or fall with critical theories and opinions about questions more or less debatable. Clemen has rightly made his summaries of doctrinal results at the close of each of his sections

altogether independent of particular views on points of literary history, so that, if only legitimately drawn from the whole statement of canonical scripture, they may be accepted by those who do not share in the critical opinions of the author.

The subject is well distributed. Instead of giving a general account of the representations of sin as they appear at different stages in the history of revelation, our author takes up in succession *The Fact of Sin*, *The Origin of Sin*, and *The Consequences of Sin*, each of these divisions being subdivided, and the Scripture statements bearing on each point being carefully collected and their meaning thoroughly discussed. Of the precise nature of sin no definite idea is afforded by the names given to it in the Old Testament and in the New. These indicate generally an offence, without showing the nature of the offence, or the party against whom it is committed. They apply to wrong-doing against men as well as to offences against God. Clemen quotes with approval the words of Dr Robertson Smith: "The Hebrew idea of sin, in its earlier stages, includes any act that puts a man in the wrong with those who have power to make him rue it." Yet even in ancient Israel there is evidently present some standard according to which human conduct is estimated as good or bad. In the days of the Judges and in the earlier years of the kingdom this standard was the time-honoured national custom of which God is the vindicator. By the prophets a purer doctrine was introduced of the direct interference of God in the affairs of men, and, instead of several divine attributes, we have Jehovah with an ethical character, who cannot but hate sin, and who can hate nothing but sin. In this way the standpoint represented by the oldest part of the law book was prepared for, and sin was defined as transgression of the law of God. Jesus introduced no new ethical principle, but in part abolished the law by fulfilling it; while Paul and his followers measured sin according to the spirit of the law or the example of Christ, and John put in the place of the law the new commandment of Christ. In earlier times every sin was regarded as a sin of the community, whereas the prophets taught a doctrine of personal responsibility, which fastened the guilt of the offence more particularly on the individual committing it.

A distinction is made, even in the oldest Scriptures, but more particularly in the prophets, between different classes of sins, moral offences being regarded as more heinous than ritual mistakes or negligence, to disobey God, to have a heart at variance with Him, worse than failing to sacrifice. In the later Jewish legislation, and in the teaching of Jesus, sins are distinguished in view of the conditions under which they were committed. An important question arises as to the guilt or comparative guiltlessness of sins of

ignorance. In ancient Israel conscious and unconscious sins were judged with equal severity, and the very distinction itself repudiated by the prophets and by Paul; for God's will which is to be obeyed is known to all, or ought to be, so that the not knowing it is sin. On the other hand, sins of ignorance were at least viewed leniently by Jesus and the New Testament writers generally. The unpardonable sin is first expressly defined in the New Testament by Jesus as hardening of the heart against saving truth, in Hebrews as apostasy to Judaism, and in the First Epistle of John as denial of the divine sonship of Jesus. But in all its parts Scripture maintains that every sin carries guilt with it, and that where no guilt is imputed there is no sin.

One of the most interesting sections of the whole work—the part which is most carefully elaborated and which shows great exegetical expertness and skill—is that in which our author discusses in detail the meaning of the narrative of the Fall in Gen. iii. (pp. 152-169), and that of Paul in Rom. v. 12-21 (pp. 175-178). Adopting the theory that we have in Genesis two different myths, or two different redactions of the same myth combined, in one of which, and that the older of the two, what we designate the Fall was represented as the first step in the movement of culture, and in the other and later, an attempt was made to give a representation or explanation of the origin of sin, Clemen holds that this late reading of the narrative as an account of the origin of sin explains the absence of all reference to it in Old Testament Scripture. Even in Paul only two references to Adam's fall occur (1 Cor. xv. 21; Rom. v. 12). The doctrine of the origin of sin from Adam's fall is at least not a central doctrine of Scripture, so that Paul himself prefers to have recourse to the idea of the flesh as the source and ground of sin. But neither the theory that the flesh is the occasion of sin or sin itself, nor that of inborn sin as derived from Adam, escapes the difficulty of making sin traceable in its earliest origin to God himself.

In the third part of his work, Dr Clemen deals with the dominion of sin, evil and death. All ills are divine punishments, though sometimes used for purifying; and, in the Old Testament, premature and violent death is regarded as punishment of sin, while in the New Testament death is in every case the wages of sin.

In conclusion, he observes that there are three ideas which are left with us at the close of these investigations of singular interest: the possibility of a vanquishing of sin, its origin in God and its essential connection with the flesh. These will be the subjects which will demand special attention in the final doctrinal and critical part of the work, and by means of dogmatic elaboration,

on the basis of the exposition of the Scripture doctrine, he hopes to make contradictions disappear, to fill up blanks, and in short, to show that the biblical doctrine of sin is not only a subject of historical investigation, but the expression of our religious faith.

The second treatise is one of a series of Studies on the history of theology and the Church, edited by Professors Bonwetsch and Seeberg. The author has already written *Das häusliche Leben Calvins*, München 1893, besides several articles on incidents in the life of Calvin and on matters of detail regarding the contents and publication of Calvin's works. He promises also to contribute to the same series a treatise on the sources and theological character of the *Institutes* of Calvin. The appearance of this work will be looked forward to with no ordinary interest. No theological work is more thoroughly deserving of careful investigation as to its origin and distinctive character than this oft-named, but still too little known and hence much misrepresented masterpiece of the great Genevan Reformer.

In the present treatise the author seeks to gather together all reliable information about Calvin's conversion. Unlike Luther, Calvin shows great reserve in all his writings, and scarcely ever introduces any reference to his personal feelings or circumstances. It is evident that in many ways the spiritual experiences of the German and Genevan reformers differed very materially. Luther's violent recoil from the Romish doctrine of the merit of good works is seen in what may be called the obtrusive prominence, in season and out of season, of the doctrine of justification by faith only; Calvin's more calm and gradual growth of conviction under the study of the Word is seen in the devotion of all his powers to the laborious and careful interpretation of Scripture, and in the prominence he gives to the absolute authority and sovereignty of God. The period of Calvin's conversion seems to be marked by his abandoning the editing and critical study of classical works for the systematic study of holy Scripture. As a youth we find him an eager and inquisitive student, attaining proficiency in the knowledge of Latin, then engaging in the study of law, and then again returning to the study of classical literature. The decisive change took place in the latter half of A.D. 1533; but how it was brought about and how it was characterised, neither Lefranc nor Lecoultre, who have investigated this period of Calvin's life, can determine. Our author in the third chapter of his little book gathers together all that he can find on the subject in Calvin's own writings. There is one very important passage in the reply to Cardinal Sadolet which may be read in the Calvin Society's Translation of the Calvin Tracts, vol. i., pp. 61-64. Another still more important statement

occurs in the Preface to the Commentary on the Psalms of 1557, in the first volume of the English edition of the Psalms, pp. 40-45. Both of these are analysed and discussed by our author, who concludes with an account of an Academical Address delivered by Calvin on All Saints' Day 1533, shortly after his conversion. Students of Calvin's life will find here much that is interesting and instructive.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

**Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen auf seine
ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht.**

*Von Lic. Dr. Friedrich Wiegand, Privatdocent der Theologie.
Leipzig: A. Deichert; London and Edinburgh: Williams &
Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 96. Price, 2s.*

IN the Early Church it was a common custom for preachers to deliver the compositions of others, and homilies were prepared by men skilled in composition to be used by bishops and other preachers in certain districts. In the course of time collections, more or less extensive, of such homilies were made. Toward the end of the eighth century, Charlemagne found the collections in use in his empire faulty in doctrine and in style, and written by men of no standing or authority in the church. He, therefore, called upon Paul Warnefrid, one of the most learned men of the time, to make a collection of homilies drawn from the works of the Fathers. This is the *Homiliarium* dealt with in the treatise now under consideration. It was issued somewhere about A.D. 780.

Dr Wiegand deals first of all with the MSS. which are available for determining the text of the *Homiliarium*. The most complete and important codices are four which are now preserved in Karlsruhe; but beside these a large number of other codices, more or less fragmentary, have been used in the editing of the text.

The contents of the *Homiliarium* are given from Codex Monacensis 4533 of the tenth or eleventh century, now in Munich. According to the statement given here, and in Cod. Mon. 4534, the contents were as follows:—1 and 2. Distich and Dedicatory Poem by Paulus Diaconus; 3. Prefatory Epistle by Charles the Great; 4. *Votum* of Paulus to Charles; 5. Summary Outline of Contents; 6. Contents; 7. Text of the Pericopes and Homilies. The first part of the text, *pars hiemalis*, contains 110 sermons from the fifth Sunday before Christmas down to Easter. The second part, *pars aestiva*, contains 134 sermons, from Easter to the end of the Church year. The Feast days are distributed in their proper places among the Sundays. It is of special interest to find that Luther

arranged his Church Postils, not according to the Roman Missal of his time, but according to this Homiliarium of Charles.

As to the authors of the Homilies, we find six from Origen, nineteen from Chrysostom, twenty-two from Augustine, eight from Jerome, but by far the largest contributors are Maximus of Turin, Bede, Leo, and Gregory.

From Charles' preface it is evident that the primary purpose of the publication was to afford material for the *officium nocturnale* of the clergy. At this midnight vigil, besides prayer and psalms, a portion of Scripture was read, and on Sundays and Feast days a part of a sermon by some distinguished Church writer or of a commentary was added. These readings were often ill chosen, neither suiting the day nor the Scripture portion for the day. The Homiliarium was intended to displace all those imperfect collections at this service. But Wiegand shows that it served, and was intended to serve, a much wider purpose, and that the clergy were expected to use what they became familiar with in this service, in their public services with the people.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

Notices.

THE late Bishop Walsham How was a notable figure in the English Church, and altogether a man who deserved to be remembered for his personal character, his gifts, and his work. The *Memoir*¹ which is now in the hands of the public will be read with interest by many beyond the limits of the Church of which its subject was an ornament. It is the work of the Bishop's son, and it is well done. It is larger indeed than it might well have been, and it contains a number of things of small importance to any but the members of the Bishop's family. We should have been glad to dispense with a good many of the letters which are printed, and with the details which are given us of the habits of the Bishop as an angler, and the like. In place of these a fuller account and criticism of his contributions to hymnology would have been welcome. But the Memoir is done not only with filial care and reverence, but with considerable skill and literary finish. It is a son's tribute to a distinguished father which is creditable to both.

Few men in the ranks of the higher clergy in our day have done more honour to the English Church than the subject of this Memoir. It does one good to read a life like his, and it

¹ Bishop Walsham How: A Memoir. By Frederick Douglas How. With Portrait. London: Isbister & Company, Limited, 1898. 8vo, pp. 486. Price, 16s.

is told us in a way that enables us not only to follow its course step by step, but to understand the motives and aims of the man, and appreciate the spirit in which he took prosperous things and adverse things alike. The Bishop was an intense worker, and in the various positions which he held in the Church, diligence and rigorous economy of time were among his most conspicuous qualities. But, while literature and certain branches of science, especially botany, had strong charms for him and occupied him much, he never lived apart from his people. He carried the habits of familiar intercourse with his parishioners which he had acquired in less distinguished and exacting positions with him into the Episcopal heights, and showed the public a new kind of bishop—a man who made little of the dignities of office, who rubbed shoulders with the humblest of his people in their homes and in the streets, and preferred the tram-car and the omnibus to the carriage. No wonder that he got at the hearts of those among whom he laboured, and made the poor of the East End of London speak of him with pride and affection as their own bishop.

His gift of organisation was as remarkable as his capacity for strenuous, unsparing toil. He achieved great results in the work of missioner, in the conducting of clerical retreats, in such movements as the Eton Mission in Hackney Wick, the Christ Church Mission in Poplar, the Oxford House in Bethnal Green, and other lines of Christian enterprise. He did not keep himself aloof, however, from duties and responsibilities of other kinds. He was in the thick of the controversy on the Athanasian Creed. He made a remarkable speech at the great Wolverhampton Congress, and took his fair share in the discussion and settlement of the various questions which agitated his Church from time to time. He was himself a devoted Churchman, of the moderate Anglican type, but lived on the best terms with those who differed from him, and cherished a large-minded regard for his Nonconformist brethren. He was an unaffectedly modest man, whose highest ambition was to do his duty. He cared little for preferment, and in the quietest way put from him more than one tempting offer of promotion. Without the smallest pang or the faintest hesitation he refused the great prize of the bishopric of Durham, and when he was invited to succeed Bishop Fraser in the See of Manchester, he declined without letting even his wife know that the offer had been made him. His heart was in the East End work. He had his difficulties in the doing of it, and one reads with some indignation, though not with surprise, a letter which shows how the present Archbishop of Canterbury, then Bishop Temple of London, could make things unpleasant. But his best work was done in the East End of London, and, though circumstances led to his acceptance of the new bishopric

of Wakefield, he would have been more than content to die among the poor people over whom he had been set as suffragan.

The ideal of the episcopal office which he set before himself and others was a very high one, and his own work in the office corresponded with that ideal. For this he will be remembered with honour. Yet he will live longer in the hearts of devout men and women in virtue of his hymns. He wrote some which are only of moderate merit, but he has left us a few that will survive. The man to whom we owe such spiritual songs as "O Word of God Incarnate," "Who is this so Weak and Helpless," and above all others, "We give Thee but Thine own," and "For all the Saints who from their labours rest," is not likely to be soon forgotten.

Many men have been more widely known and have lived more in the eye of the public than the late Principal Reynolds of Cheshunt College. But few have been regarded as he has been by those who have been brought into close relations with him. If one were asked to name any prominent religious teacher of the last quarter of a century to whom the sacred name of *saintly* might be most befittingly applied, he would think first and most instinctively, if he knew him at all, of Henry Robert Reynolds. His devout, winning, benignant personality made him friends wherever he went. His character acted like a beneficent spell on those who came across him. It would be difficult to point to any theological teacher of our own time who has had the peculiar influence over students that Principal Reynolds had all his life long, or who has been in such measure the object of love and reverence, both in academic circles and among private friends. It would be to our great loss if the memory of a man of this rare quality were allowed to fade quickly. We are saved from that by the pious care of the sisters of the deceased, who have provided us with a record of his career which is worthy of their love for him and his love for them. Their volume, which gives his *Life and Letters*,¹ is not one of those biographies which may be read at a sitting and then put aside for ever. It is a book which we shall do well to keep by us that we may dip into it again and again. The picture which it gives us of the man is one to do us good, and the letters which form a large part of it will be read with profit and delight.

Henry Robert Reynolds was best known as the head of a college which has done much for the training of an evangelical ministry in England since it was founded in 1768 by that remarkable lady, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, the large-minded friend of the

¹ Henry Robert Reynolds, D.D., *His Life and Letters*, edited by his sisters. With portraits. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 585. Price, 9s.

Methodist Revival. But he began life as a pastor, and his ministry, first in Halstead and afterwards in Leeds, was a notable one. He had the friendship of men like Dean Hook of Leeds who were at the opposite pole in their doctrinal and ecclesiastical views. He had to struggle against infirm health, however, and it was felt by all who knew him that he had found his proper place when he was induced to go to Cheshunt. Here from the first he addressed himself to the task of getting the best students about him and making the most of them. He was extraordinarily careful in the selection of the men whom he admitted, and when he got them he gave himself with the most loving, wise, and sedulous care to the work of preparing them for their holy and responsible vocation. The result was that there grew up around him a large body of men who bore the hall-mark of his genius and looked up to him as their master.

He was a man of the most Catholic sympathies. Strongly attached to his own Church, a convinced and consistent Free Churchman, he was on terms of intimacy with many of the best men in all the Churches, not only with Dale, Conder, Allon, Stoughton, and others in his own communion, but with Dean Alford, Matthew Arnold, Bishop Westcott, R. H. Hutton, Dean Stanley, Dean Vaughan, and many more.

His contributions to literature deserve also to be mentioned with honour. He did not write by any means so much as was expected of him; his pen nevertheless was by no means unproductive. In conjunction with his brother Russell, he wrote in 1860 a novel under the title of *Yes and No*, which won the praise of Alexander Macmillan. He prepared a considerable number of articles for the *British Quarterly Review*, the *Expositor*, and other periodicals. He published some essays in the series known as the *Ecclesia*, some volumes of sermons and addresses, a short life of Athanasius, an account of *Buddhism*, &c.; but his most successful books were his Congregational Union Lecture on *John the Baptist* and the *Exposition of John's Gospel* which he contributed to the *Pulpit Commentary*. These two books show what he was capable of doing. The latter is his best achievement. He had rare qualifications for interpreting the writings of St John, and his work on the Fourth Gospel is of great value. It may be, however, that he will be longest remembered by the letters which are printed in his *Life*. Through these his soul speaks to us as it does not even in his best books. They are rich, sweet, illuminating letters, which, if read once, will be read again.

Professor George Adam Smith's *Life of Henry Drummond*¹

¹ The Life of Henry Drummond. By George Adam Smith. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 506. Price, 7s. 6d.

deserves a fuller notice than can at present be given it. It was a matter of course that we should have a biography of a man so rarely gifted, so remarkable for the access he had to the younger minds of his generation, and so extraordinarily successful as a writer; and the intrinsic interest of the subject was so great and so varied that the *Life* could scarcely have been a failure by whomsoever attempted. But it could be written at its best only by one or other of three or four men, themselves men of mark, who belonged to the small select circle of Henry Drummond's most intimate friends, who knew him thoroughly in all his various aspects, who were in sympathy with him in his largest and most sacred interests, and had rubbed shoulders with him from their College days. Anyone of those who made that circle could have done the work well. But none could have done it better than the friend who at last undertook it, and who has now finished it with distinguished credit.

To give a consistent account of so uncommon a life—a life containing elements and experiences which seem so difficult to harmonise that men have fallen into the way of speaking of two Henry Drummonds, Drummond the revivalist and Drummond the scientist, Drummond the old-style Evangelical and Drummond the liberal theologian—has been no easy thing to do. To place the man before us in all the truth of his many-sided character, and to give an estimate of his influence and his work that should be just and beyond the partialities of a life-long friendship, has been a still more difficult task. Dr Smith has done both things well; he has written a book that will rank high among biographies of Christian men—a book that is delightful to read, appreciative and eulogistic without extravagance. It is written, too, one need scarcely say, with literary art and skill. The opening chapter, which gives a general view of the subject, is an excellent piece of writing as well as an informing study of the man. The sketch of Drummond's career in its several stages is given in strong and vivid colours. Here and there we come upon bits of description which arrest us. The sections dealing with Drummond's travels are done with power. Best of all, in some respects, are the accounts of his connexion with the Revival Movement under Moody and his work among students.

If Dr Smith has had a difficult task, he has had an unusually attractive subject. It is the story of a radiant life, a life of singular charm and sunny goodness. Beyond most men of his time Henry Drummond had the gift of an irresistible personal magnetism. All kinds of people drew to him. They could not do otherwise. For they all found themselves in him. There was nothing human

that was alien to him. The sports of children, the frolics of students, the grave moods and the gay of grown men, the humours of the crowd, the sorrows of the stricken, the convulsions of broken lives—in all he had a loving, sympathetic interest. So all kinds of people were attracted to him, and men and women with all kinds of religious burdens and questionings made him their confessor and adviser.

It is the story of an exceptionally full and happy life. Until he was smitten down by the dark and fell disease which carried him off, Henry Drummond had little or no personal experience of anything but the bright side of life. Things came easy to him. Life was all smiles. Success, phenomenal success, pursued him. He was born into a happy Christian home, and belonged to a family that stood in general respect. The youth, so happily introduced to life and surrounded by so many good and gracious things, was thrown suddenly into the forefront. The American evangelist visited our land, and Henry Drummond became his follower and helper. At once his wonderful influence was felt. It was the influence of a born spiritual leader, and when Mr Moody left he carried on his work in the North of England, addressing enormous meetings day after day. And all before he was twenty-three years of age. From the intoxication of this vast popularity he went humbly back to the New College, Edinburgh, completed his course of study for the Free Church of Scotland, and in due time got his proper sphere of work in the Chair of Natural Science in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Here the next great chapter opened in the development of his career, as he worked at once at science and in ministering to the poor, and came in contact with young men, and felt the brunt of the critical movement. All which led up to the extraordinary success of his fascinating book on *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, and to the series of subsequent writings which won him, perhaps, the largest audience given to any religious writer of his time.

Of his place in the religious literature of these days it is impossible here to speak. There are things in his most famous book that are very open to criticism, and its fundamental principle is true only with large qualification. But with an admirable instinct the mass of men have taken it without looking very critically into its philosophy, or even into its science, and have been helped by it. They have taken its scientific sections as illustrations and analogies of spiritual things rather than as statements of identical laws, and they have rightly divined its real value. His later book, *The Ascent of Man*, is in some important respects a corrective of the earlier work as well as a supplement to it. But all his books have the irresistible charm of style and the permanent note of good.

And the man himself was always more than the best of his writings and the highest of his public achievements.

Other notable books have come to hand, including the late Dr Hort's important *Commentary on First Peter*, Professor Swete's *Gospel according to St Mark*, the best book which English scholarship has produced on Mark, and the *Life of R. W. Dale*, a noble, massive book which we owe to his son, Mr A. W. W. Dale. These shall receive proper notice in our next issue.

*An Outline of Christian Theology*¹ comes from an American divine. The book is well written and thoroughly readable. This is no small praise when spoken of a work on systematic theology, which goes over the whole field of Christian doctrine, and does not at any point lie open to the charge of sacrificing exactness of statement and fullness of exposition to beauty of expression and immediate popular effect. There are comparatively few points belonging to Christian theology which are altogether passed over, and most of the questions which have engaged the attention of theological students in different ages are treated in a fairly adequate and generally instructive and informing manner. For general and popular reading, therefore, the book is a very admirable one. The author intends that it should be used at the same time as a Students' Handbook. In his concluding paragraph he expresses the hope that omissions may be supplied by the oral instructions of the class, and he writes on the principle that it is best in theology to use the simplest and least technical language. He thinks that the practical point of view is more important than the scientific, that theological terms have gathered about them a mass of conflicting definitions and associations, and that technical terms are ambiguous, and their employment unfavourable to precision or mutual understanding. But, while there is much force in this, there is also another side to it. If the purpose of the treatise had been simply spiritual edification, such non-technical treatment would be quite right and fitting. But a treatise on Christian doctrine for students must before everything else be scientific, and scientific accuracy is attainable only by the strict and careful use of technical phraseology. Every competent student of theology knows the exact understanding of a doctrine is often possible only on the basis of a minute and sympathetic study of the historical phases of important theological terms. The treatise has a sixfold division:—I. God; II. Man; III. Sin; IV. Christ; V. The Holy Spirit and the Divine Life in Man; VI. Things to Come. The treatment of the Person of Christ is inade-

¹ By William Newton Clarke, D.D., Professor of Christian Theology in Colgate University, Hamilton, New York. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. 8vo, pp. ix. 488. Price, 7s. 6d.

quate. Many of the questions most interesting theologically are entirely passed over. The attempt to define justification as a conception which is partly forensic and partly moral, forensic in form and moral in substance, is not a happy one. It is much better and less confusing to restrict the use of the term to the purely forensic act. The moral change which always characterises the justified man is no part of his justification, but is a separate operation of the Holy Spirit as an indwelling principle of renewal. Whenever the purely forensic point of view is departed from in our definition of justification, there is no logical ground for stopping short of the Romish and Osiandrian confusion of justification and sanctification. On the other hand, our author has much that is true and wise to say about sanctification as the Christianising of the Christian. The section on the Things to Come, too, is fresh and stimulating, though there are some statements which call at least for consideration. There are many things, however, that are well put and forcibly expressed. The book carries the reader pleasantly along, and quickens one's interest in the great questions of Christian doctrine. Its main concern is with the practical and experimental aspects of Christian truth. On these it says much that is profitable, while it also aims with some success at giving a popular expression to the great forms of doctrine.

Professor William Edward Collins, of King's College, London, contributes a volume to the *Churchman's Library*, which is edited by the Rev. J. H. Burn. It is entitled *The Beginnings of English Christianity, with special reference to the Coming of Augustine*.¹ It is very well written and claims to be an independent study of the original sources. The story is told in four chapters of very moderate size, treating respectively of the Romano-British Church and Celtic Christianity, the Beginnings of English Christianity, the Welsh Church and the English, the English Church and the Roman. The real subject of the book is Augustine's mission and what it meant for England. This is the topic that runs through all the chapters, and the writer's object is to place that event in its proper historical setting and significance. His estimate of Augustine himself is higher than is usually taken. He admits that the monk who came to us from Gregory has not the attractions of an Aedan or a Boniface. He confesses that there is "something stilted and constrained about his methods which clearly reflects a lack of imaginative insight in the man himself," and that if we were to judge him by his own words—the questions which he addressed to Gregory, we should not form a very high idea of him. But he thinks he made so good a use of the capacities which he had, as to entitle him to a higher place in our regard than is often given him. He

¹ London: Methuen, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 209. Price, 3s. 6d.

has much to say of "the splendid seven years' record" of his work—a work which found the English people heathen and left the English Church "an accomplished fact." There is some exaggeration in this. But the story of Augustine is well told, and some interesting things are added in the Appendices. There are good Notes, *e.g.* on the Pallium, on Augustine's first band of missionaries, on Augustine's landing-place, on Saxon Christians before his date, &c. Professor Collins follows Professor M'Kenny Hughes in holding it established that Augustine landed at Richborough, "which was then an island and was accounted to be part of Thanet." He discusses also the date of Ethelbert's marriage, and concludes that the time which best suits the known facts is 571-573.

In writing this volume, Professor Collins has in view the very diverse estimates which are formed of the events of the year 597 by persons of different intellectual trainings and ecclesiastical leanings. He looks to the fact that on the one hand Augustine's mission is regarded by men like Archdeacon Sinclair as "simply an incident in a continuous history which began earlier," while on the other hand authorities like Père Brou take the circumstance that English Christianity begins with a missionary sent by Pope Gregory as logically implying a peculiar relationship to the Roman Communion, such as "would have been unthinkable in Gregory's own day." He says very properly that it ought to be possible for us to see things as they are, and his object is to let the facts speak for themselves. Does he succeed in this? We cannot say that he does. He selects but a certain proportion of the facts, and interprets them in favour of a particular theory of the English Church, to which neither the word 'British' nor the word 'Protestant' seems very welcome. His view of things is much more on the side of Father Brou than on that of Archdeacon Sinclair. The British Church is not in the line of the ancestry of the English Church, but only in that of the Roman Church. The relation of the English Church to the Roman is not indeed one of dependence. That is strongly disavowed by Professor Collins. But it is one of spiritual heirship and spiritual indebtedness. Professor Collins thanks God that Christianity came to the English people from the mainland, from Rome, and he says the hardest things of the older British Church. "When we remember the amorphous and isolated character of Celtic Christendom," he says, "above all, when we consider its entire seclusion from all that was most vigorous and most fruitful in the life of the world, we can only be thankful that 'some better thing' was in store for us. Once more, in the light of the facts, we have every reason to thank Almighty God that the Faith came to us from the mainland."

So it is to Rome and Canterbury, and to these almost alone, that our author looks. In his view, "the noble work which was done from the North," as he calls it, has been made too much of. There has been a "laudable desire to magnify the share which was taken by the Church of Iona, and in particular by Aedan in the conversion of England; and also, in other quarters, a less laudable desire to minimise our debt to Rome." But can the case be dealt with thus? Was the old Celtic Church so impotent and debased, and the new English Church, which was the result of Augustine's seven years' work, so mighty and so pure, as Professor Collins takes them to have been? What of the Saxon Christianity which preceded Augustine's mission? And what of the Church of the North, of which Professor Collins has to acknowledge that "large part of England—possibly the larger part"—was converted from it? "Not Augustine, but Aedan," says Bishop Lightfoot, "is the true Apostle of England." Rome, says Professor Collins, is the mother of the English Church, which begins with Augustine and has its second founder in Theodore. There are few outside a particular circle that will take Mr Collins's view in preference to Bishop Lightfoot's. And is it not a curious way of "seeing things as they are," to look to Rome and Canterbury as Professor Collins does, and turn the eye from the ancient British Church, and the Saxon Christianity that was before Augustine, and the great Missionary Church of the North?

Professor Zahn of Erlangen publishes a second edition, revised and enlarged, of his *Skizzen aus dem Leben der Alten Kirche*.¹ These sketches treat of a variety of subjects—missionary methods in the time of the Apostles, the history of the Sabbath, world and Church in the first three centuries, and others. There is a study of Constantine the Great which will well repay consideration. The question of slavery and Christianity in the old world is dealt with in a very able and interesting way, though under a different point of view from that of Goldwin Smith's famous pamphlet. There is some interesting matter, too, on another subject with which Professor Zahn is familiar—Creed and Baptismal Confession in the Ancient Church. There is a good paper also on the Epistle of James and the light it sheds on social questions and the inner mission. The history of Sunday in the Ancient Church is the subject of another essay. There are some disputable statements in this last. But it deserves to be read with close attention. Its main contention is that the observance of Sunday was regarded as due to Christian faith and the Church's need; that it was not based on any express divine commandment, but on the resurrection

¹ Von Theodor Zahn. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Erlangen und Leipzig: Deichert, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 392. Price, M.5.

of Christ; that it was not considered to be a continuation of the Jewish Sabbath and did not necessarily imply rest from ordinary labour.

Mr Guthrie's charming account of John Knox's house has been noticed before. He has done us the further service of publishing now an edition of the Reformer's famous *History of the Reformation*.¹ The book is admirably printed. It is furnished with Notes, Glossary, and Index. A concise Historical Summary of the Reformation period in Scottish History is introduced before the text, so that we can see at a glance the most important events and their dates. There is also a series of fifty-six illustrations, which are tastefully done and greatly help us in following the narrative. Nothing is left undone to make the edition serve its purpose in rendering this incomparable literary product of the Scottish Reformation accessible to all men, and in inducing them to read it for themselves. David Laing's text is followed of course in the main, but readings are taken at times from other MSS. than the one of 1566 on which David Laing depended. Passages which are obviously corrupt are also emended. A good deal of matter is omitted, including the Confession of Faith, most of the First Book of Discipline, and many speeches, letters, and documents not relevant to the present purpose. But the story itself is given at length, with the sole exception of certain redundancies and repetitions and a few passages of small interest; and the flavour of the original is preserved by the retention of obsolete words used by Knox, explanations being given when necessary. Mr Guthrie remarks on the English tone of the composition. That is one of the things which strike us at once when we read the *History*, especially when it is cleared, as is the case here, of "superficial difficulties." The number of purely Scotch words is small.

Mr Guthrie has had a difficult task to perform in preparing an edition of Knox's *History* which anyone might read with ease and comfort. It is a task worth attempting. For this book is a Scottish Classic, a book, indeed, that takes a high place among the works of historians for the vigour, manliness, picturesqueness and marked individuality of its style. The beat of a strong heart is felt in its every page. Mr Guthrie knows its value, and has spared no pains in doing his editorial work. That he has amply succeeded is speedily seen. In proof of this and as a specimen of what Knox's narrative power is, take this passage, which is selected very much at random. It is part of the description of the fight of Solway Moss: "The English perceiving the disorder, increased in courage.

¹ The History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland, written by John Knox. Edited for popular use by C. J. Guthrie, Q.C. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 364. Price, 7s. 6d.

Before, they shouted ; but then they struck. They shot spears and dagged (*shot thickly*) arrows, where the companies were thickest. Some rencounters were made, but nothing availed. The soldiers cast from them their pikes, culverins (*firelocks*), and other weapons fencible ; the horsemen left their spears ; and without judgment all men fled. The sea was filling, and so the water made great stop ; but the fear was such that happy was he that might get a taker. Such as passed the water and escaped that danger, not well acquainted with the ground, fell into the Solway Moss. The entry thereof was pleasing enough ; but as they proceeded, all that took that way either tint their horse, or else themselves and horse both. To be short, a greater fear and discomfiture, without cause, hath seldom been seen. It is said that where the men were not sufficient to take the hands of prisoners, some ran to houses and rendered themselves to women. Stout Oliver Sinclair was without stroke taken, fleeing full manfully ; and so was his glory—stinking and foolish proudness we should call it !—suddenly turned to confusion and shame.”

We have received also the following books and pamphlets : *The Gospel Catechism*,¹ which seeks to provide an unsectarian Christian Primer, such as may be used in school or in family by persons of every creed and class, and with that view limits itself to the teaching of the four Gospels ; a treatise on *Creed and Life*,² written with some vigour, but dealing wildly with the ancient Orthodox Creed, and pleading strongly for a return to the Greek Theology and a complete emancipation from the Latin doctrine ; a brochure, *Are the Writings of Dionysius the Areopagite genuine?*³, in which the Rev. John Parker, following Dr Schneider and Professors Schwartz and Schmid, concludes that the testimony of Theodore and Photius is “reasonable evidence” in behalf of the affirmative ; a clear, forcible, and eloquent discussion of *Le Danger Moral de l'Evolutionisme Religieux*⁴ by Professor Gaston Frommel of Geneva, dealing with the subject in its relations to religious conviction, religious action, the principle of morals, and the morality of Christianity in particular ; another part of Dr G. H. Lamers's careful and scholarly treatise *De Wetenschap van den Godsdienst*,⁵ the special subjects being Man, Revelation, Miracle, Christ—in His Life, His Person, and His

¹ By the author of the “King and the Kingdom,” &c. London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 189. Price, 1s.

² By the Rev. C. E. Beeby, B.D., Oxon., Vicar of Yardley Wood, near Birmingham. Beverley : Wright & Co. 8vo, pp. 183. Price, 2s. 6d.

³ London and Oxford : James Parker & Co. 8vo, pp. 20. Price, 1s.

⁴ Lausanne : Payot, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 125.

⁵ II. Wijsgeerig Deel. Zesde Stuk. Utrecht : Breijer, 1898. 8vo, pp. xxiii. 853-970.

Work, the Christian and Christendom—which are all dealt with, especially the Christological Doctrine, in a lucid and instructive manner; a very readable Lecture by Professor Paul Ewald of Erlangen on *Religion und Christenthum*,¹ vindicating for Christianity the claim to be the ideal of all religions and not merely one form of faith having a place among many; a series of *Short Studies on Vital Subjects*,² by the Rev. P. W. Quetteville, M.A., which deal in an edifying way and in the interest of the ethical life with familiar Biblical topics—Christ's Parable of Judgment, Dives and Lazarus, the Sainted Dead, the Patience of Job, the Final Counsels of St Paul, and others; a valuable contribution to the history of the *Catenae*³ of Scripture, containing a mass of curious and often important matter relating to the literature of the subject, the manuscripts, the transmission and the different kinds of *Catenae*, the alterations and corruptions from which they have suffered, as well as detailed accounts of the *Catenae* on the Octateuch and the Books of Kings, the Psalter, the Solomonian books, Job, the Prophets, and the Gospels; a study of *Shakespeare as Man and as Christian*⁴ by Julius Schiller, which traces the growth of the poet's mind and art, gives a full and discerning analysis of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, and deals in a judicious and instructive way with the question of his attitude to religion; a discussion of the question *Qu'est-ce qu'une Église*⁵ by C. G. Chavannes, the best part of which is the examination of the term "Church" in the New Testament, the general conclusion being that the constitutive elements of the Church are just its members; that the Churches are simply associations for the kingdom of God; and that the false view of the Church embodied in "Catholicism" is due to substituting the unity of doctrine for the unity of the Christian people; an Address by Professor Arnold Meyer of Bonn on *Modern Inquiry in the History of Primitive Christianity*,⁶ delivered in part at the Congress last year at Stockholm, giving a comprehensive and very useful survey of recent historical investigation, especially in the field of the Canonical litera-

¹ Leipzig: Deichert, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 39. Price, M.0.75.

² London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 277. Price, 6s.

³ *Catenen. Mittheilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Ueberlieferung.* Von Hans Lietzmann. Mit einem Beitrag von Prof. Dr Hermann Usener. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. vi. 85.

⁴ *Shakspeare als Mensch und als Christ. Eine Studie.* Von Julius Schiller, kgl. prot. Stadtpfarrer zu Nürnberg. Leipzig: Deichert, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 208. Price, M.2.60.

⁵ Paris: Fischbacher, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 96.

⁶ *Die moderne Forschung über die Geschichte des Urchristentums.* Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. viii. 94.

ture, and criticising the methods followed in different schools, among which those of Loman, Steck, and Van Manen receive particular attention; *Bible Manners and Customs*,¹ an addition to the *Guild Library*, pleasantly written and tastefully illustrated, giving many interesting particulars regarding Eastern customs, seasons, scenery, trades and ways of life, domestic, social, political and religious customs, and answering very well its declared purpose to supply *local colouring* to the common objects and occupations referred to in the Bible; a *brochure* by Dean C. Bruston on the question of the Λόγια Ἰησοῦ,² which deserves attention among the numerous publications on the subject, the conclusion being that the work of which we have a fragment was "un recueil de maximes morales d'origines diverses, et dont quelques-unes provenaient d'un ou de plusieurs Évangiles apocryphes"; a small volume, but one of importance, from the hand of a master in New Testament studies, Professor Theodor Zahn, on *The Abiding Importance of the New Testament Canon for the Church*,³ which affirms and explains the rights of a believing criticism, defines and vindicates the position of the Church of Luther on questions of New Testament inquiry, and shows how those who disavow all idea of dependence on the voice of an infallible Church pronouncing on the Canon, find in the history of the New Testament books enough to confirm their faith in them as the Word of God; *A Dream of Paradise*,⁴ a poem, by Robert Thomson, in eight cantos, following the Spenserian manner, with a pleasant movement in its stanzas; *Aarbert*,⁵ a poem described as a "Drama without stage or scenery, wrought out through song in many metres, mostly lyric," in which some striking things and also some strained and curious things will be found, and which is intended to be a poetical counterpart to Bunyan's prose allegory, describing a "Christian pilgrim's progress from earthliness to heavenliness; a volume on *The Growth of Christianity*,⁶ written from the Uni-

¹ By Rev. G. M. Mackie, M.A., for twenty years Missionary of the Church of Scotland at Beyrout. London: A. C. Black, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 175. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

² Les Paroles de Jésus récemment découvertes en Égypte, et Remarques sur le Text du Fragment de l'Évangile de Pierre. Par C. Bruston, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Toulouse. Paris: Fischbacher, 1898. 8vo, pp. 19.

³ Die bleibende Bedeutung des neutestamentlichen Kanons für die Kirche. Vortrag auf der lutherischen Pastoral Konferenz zu Leipzig am 2. Juni 1898 gehalten. Leipzig: Deichert, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 61. Price, M. 0.90.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 96.

⁵ By William Marshall. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 359. Price, 5s.

⁶ By Joseph Henry Crooker. Chicago: Western Unitarian Sunday School Society, 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 241.

tarian standpoint, but following the best historical authorities, and tracing in rapid outline the march of the movement for the liberation of the gospel from king and priest and the progress made towards the goal of a "free soul in a free Church in a free State"; *Bond and Free*,¹ a series of chapters on sin, its prevalence, its power, and its pardon, expressing great, though familiar, truths in simple, practical terms; the second part of Robert Falke's *Buddha, Mohammed, Christus*,² which follows up the comparison of the three founders by an equally careful, critical, and appreciative comparison of the three religions, a valuable book giving a good statement of the doctrines of the three systems on God, the World, Man, Sin, Redemption, the Future, the Church, and Morals, and an estimate of the Christian faith in its relation to the others.

In the preparation of his edition of *The Philebus of Plato*³ Mr R. G. Bury has done a bit of work for which there is ample room. The *Philebus* is one of the most difficult of the Platonic writings, perhaps the most difficult of all. It is also a dialogue of great interest in more than one point of view, particularly in its philosophical meaning and relations. Yet it is one of those of which we have fewest expositions. Even German scholarship has failed as yet to produce any independent edition of the first rank. More has been done in England. But the editions by Dr Badham and Mr Poste, useful as they are, are not equal to present requirements. Mr Bury, therefore, has had an open field and a good opportunity. He has made excellent use of both, and has produced an edition which marks an advance. It is not a final edition. The author himself would be the last man to make any such claim for it. He professes only to have made a "slight contribution" towards the accomplishment of the desirable end of an exhaustive or final edition. But he has done more than he modestly says he has aimed at doing.

The condition of the text is one of the great difficulties of the task. In this matter Mr Bury limits himself neither to the Bodleian MS. nor to any other. He allows himself considerable liberty and follows now one authority, now another, occasionally admitting emendations which have no documentary authority whatever. In his Notes he deals mainly with points of text and

¹ By W. A. Challacombe, M.A., Vicar of New Malden, Surrey. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 84.

² Zweiter systematische Teil: Vergleich der drei Religionen. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 252.

³ Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices. By Robert Gregg Bury, M.A., formerly Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and late Bishop Berkeley Fellow of the Owens College, Manchester. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. 224.

grammar. He deals with the philosophical questions in the Introduction. In a series of erudite Appendices he takes up a number of things which required fuller discussion than could be given in the ordinary Notes.

Mr Bury, as most now do, regards the *Philebus* as one of the latest of Plato's works. He takes it to be, with the exception of the *Laws*, indeed, perhaps the very latest. He thinks that the harsh and rugged style, the "jagged and distorted" composition, and other peculiarities, point to this conclusion. He dissents entirely from Schleiermacher's view that it is an early work, preparatory both to the *Republic* and to the *Timæus*. He dissents also from those who deny its unity. The main object of his exposition is to show that it is not, as he expresses it, "a congeries of discordant fragments," but a composition marked by cohesion as well as variety. He gives an excellent statement of the theme of the dialogue, the run of the thought, and the relation of the several parts. "The main object of the discussion," he rightly says, "which governs the whole dialogue, and holds it all together, is to examine critically the rival ethical doctrines which we may term Hedonism and Intellectualism, of which the former is the creed of the Cyrenaics here represented by *Philebus*, and the latter that of the Megarics, here represented initially by Socrates." Following out this conception of the purpose and tenor of the writing, he provides a detailed analysis of the argument, and brings out in a clear and telling way how the great questions of Pleasure, Science, Being, the Good, and the Ideas are handled in its course. This is all very helpful to the student. Having done this Mr Bury gives us a series of comments on the argument and illustrations of it, all tending to the further elucidation of the great lines of thought. He points out very well how the frequent change of view makes the argument seem "intricate and perplexing" and how this is "enhanced by the oracular obscurity in which the final ordering of Goods is involved." The discussions in this part of Plato's theme are certainly uncommonly difficult to follow. This is due, so far at least, in Mr Bury's view, to the reduplication of the subject, the three questions concerning the Good Life, the Good Cause, and the relations of Reason and Pleasure thereto being "first discussed in the earlier portion of the dialogue, and then discussed all over again in the same order in the later portion."

Perhaps the portion of the book to which most readers will turn with greatest interest is that in which the doctrine of "Ideas" is examined. It is there that the great problem of the dialogue lies, and it is upon this that most turns. The question of the position to be given to the "Ideas" here, and the relation in which the exposition of them in the *Philebus* stands to that assigned them

elsewhere, is one of the greatest difficulties that the student of Plato has to face. Here Mr Bury has a view of his own. He differs from Zeller who places the "Ideas" in the last of the four divisions under which "everything that is said to exist" is classified, viz., (1) the indeterminate, (2) the limitation, (3) the combination, (4) the cause of the combination. Neither does he wholly follow Dr Jackson who places them in the third division. But he agrees with him in regarding the Ideas as a "composite" due to the combination of the "limit" and the "indeterminate," and holds by the representation of the Platonic doctrine which Aristotle gives in the *Metaphysic*. Mr Bury's statement on the subject is an ingenious one, though somewhat abstruse. It avoids certain difficulties attaching to the other views, and deserves consideration. There is much else in the book that will attract attention, and much that helps us to a better understanding of this remarkable Dialogue.

The last issue of the *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for 1898 gives a translation of Mr Witsius Lohman's booklet on Dr Abraham Kuyper, from which we get a very good account of the man, his doctrinal position, his break with the State Church, and the union of his followers, the *Dooleerenden*, with the "Christian Reformed Churches." Professor Vos continues his examination of the *Modern Hypothesis and recent Criticism of the Early Prophets*, dealing specially with Isa. xix. 16-25; xxiii. 15-18; xxix. 1-8; xxxi. 1-9. His criticism is directed against the very late date assigned to such passages as the first two, which are placed, e.g. by Professor Cheyne, between 275 and 150 B.C.; and against the extremes of those who partition so much of these prophecies into a multitude of small bits, Isaianic and non-Isaianic, often mechanically put together by editor or supplementer. Among the reviews of books attention may be called to the full, fair, and informing notices of James's *The Will to believe*, Dabney's *The Practical Philosophy*, Andrew Lang's *The Making of Religion*, and Moberly's *The Christian Ecclesia*.

The second part of the nineteenth year of the *American Journal of Philology*,¹ which is conducted with conspicuous ability by Professor Gildersleeve of the John Hopkins University, contains an interesting paper by E. Washburn Hopkins on *Parallel Features in the Two Sanskrit Epics*, and the second part of a no less interesting contribution to Hymnology by Dorothy Wilberforce Lyon, dealing with the German, Dutch, and English translations of "Christe qui Lux es et Dies." We notice also the appreciative paper by Robert P. Keep, on the veteran historian and archaeologist, Ernst Curtius, who died in Berlin, July 11, 1896.

The last number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for 1898 has

¹ Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.

several papers of importance. The one that will attract most notice is that by Mr F. C. Conybeare on *The Testament of Solomon*. A translation is given of the text as found in the Paris Codex, after the edition of Fleck, and valuable footnotes are furnished. There is also an important preface, in which the drift of the *Testament* is first given, and an attempt is made to distinguish the different elements, Christian, Jewish, Gnostic, which Mr Conybeare believes to be contained in the writing. Mr Conybeare refers to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as showing the "same mixture of equivocal Christianity with unequivocal Judaism." He is of opinion that in both these curious books we have a Christian re-ension of a Jewish book, and inclines to the view that the *Testament* in its original form was the "very collection of incantations which, according to Josephus, was composed and bequeathed by Solomon." He finds one of the best commentaries on this singular writing in the *Arabian Nights*. The interest of the book lies mostly in what it has to say of *Beelzeboul*, the dragon *Koruphé*, the doctrine of demons, the thirty-six *stoicheia* or elements, the world-rulers or *kosmokratores* of the darkness, &c. The same number gives other articles which well repay the reader, such as Mr Buchanan Gray's discussion of the meaning of the Hebrew word קִרְיָא; Dr Samuel Krauss's *Notes on Sirach*, Mr Hope W. Hogg's criticism of 1 Chron. viii., under the title of *The Genealogy of Benjamin*; and Mr I. Abraham's review (full of interesting matter) of Mrs Lucas's *The Jewish Year: a Collection of Devotional Poems for Sabbaths and Holidays throughout the year*.

The December number of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* gives the conclusion of Professor König's elaborate paper entitled *Deuteropjesaijaniches*, in which he deals with Isa. vii. 13—viii. 12. His closing words are to this effect: "As little as that great Passional requires to be removed or can be removed from the Exilian period, so little is it spoken in the time of the Exile with reference to the absolute future. Rather were the existence, the activity, and the fortune of the Israel that is true to God in faith, work, and suffering only, but also really, a type of the spiritual and suffering Messiah." Professor Hommel contributes a short paper on the true date of Abraham and Moses, expressing his confidence that in this, as in much else, the biblical tradition will establish itself triumphantly. There is also a paper by Dr F. W. Schubart on Martin Luther's name.

The *Revue bibliographique Belge*,¹ valuable for its lists of publications in different departments of literature, especially religious, sociological and ethical, has completed another successful year.

¹ Bruxelles: Société belge de Librairie.

The *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz*, edited by Friederich Meili, Privatdocent in the University of Zürich, completes its fifteenth year. The third number for 1898 contains, among other articles, one by Rudolph Steck, entitled *Die Konfession des Jakobus-briefes*, in which Spitta's views are criticised. The Epistle is held to be Christian, not Jewish; to be full of the Christian spirit, though in the way of Jewish-Christianity, not of Paulinism; and to be placed rightly by Pfeiderer near the Shepherd of Hermas in point of date.

The seventh number (Vol. viii.) of the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* gives a continuation of the transliteration and translation of the *Black Obelisk* by H. W. Menedoht, and, along with some valuable Notes, &c., a paper by W. St Chad Boscawen on *Gish-ban*, "the land of the Bow." This *Gish-ban*, which M. Maspero was somewhat inclined to place in Susian territory, and which Hilprecht identifies with Harran, is held by the writer to be shown by inscriptions more recently discovered to have been in the neighbourhood of Sippura or Tel-lo, and probably at Jokha, where many inscriptions were found by Dr Scheil and Dr Peters.

Dr J. N. Fradenburgh contributes a paper on the *Covenant of Salt* to the Nov.-Dec. number of the *Methodist Review*. He arranges the various biblical passages in certain groups according to the ideas that are most prominent in them, and illustrates them by copious references to Ethnic notions and rites. He holds the blood-covenant to be the original type from which other forms have come, remarking at the same time that, if Trumbull's views are accepted, the threshold-covenant must be of equal antiquity. In dealing with the difficult passage in Mark (ix. 42-48), he follows the Revised Version in omitting the clause "and every sacrifice shall be salted with fire," and translates the remaining sentence, "for every one shall be salted *for* the fire," as "every disciple shall be prepared for the sacrifice." In this he follows such students as Edersheim.

In the *Biblical World* for November 1898, the editor continues his papers on *The Utterances of Amos arranged Strophically*, taking the second section of the book, ch. vii., &c. The first part of this, covering the visions of the locusts, the devouring fire, and the plumb line, he throws into three symmetrical stanzas of nine trimeters each. Professor C. René Gregory contributes a brief but acute paper on John vii. 53—viii. 11. His object is to show how a curious change introduced into one of the sentences in an old manuscript gives a new colouring to the narrative and makes it more dramatic. The idea suggested is that Jesus stooped repeatedly down and wrote on the ground, the writing in each case revealing the unknown sin of one of the accusing Scribes;

each of the Scribes in turn read the writing which convicted him, and each in turn went out convicted and silent. "And they, *when they read it*, went out one by one, beginning from the eldest, even unto the last; and Jesus was left alone, and the woman in the midst."

In the *Expository Times* Professor Ramsay continues his papers on *The Greek of the Early Church and the Pagan Ritual*. In the November number he deals specially with parallels to biblical phrases and usages furnished by the forms of *thanksgiving, blessing, confession, &c.*, which are found in inscriptions. In the December issue he deals with the terms in which *purity and impurity, the oath, punishment, and the demand for payment*, are expressed. Among the most interesting parallels is one illustrating the prohibition of swearing in Matt. v. 34, James v. 12. There is also one in which the verb *λύειν* is used to express the idea of the *expiation* on the part of a daughter of oaths which the father had taken on himself, which is declared to be akin to the sense of *λύτρον*, a ransom in the form of paying the penalty, in Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45. Instances are produced from the inscriptions of children or grandchildren being regarded as held responsible for the original wrong or debt due to the god and punished for it, of a man suffering for the sins of his relations, &c.

Professor Ramsay also continues his *Historical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* in the *Expositor*, and again at every step he turns his exposition to the account of the South Galatian theory. The mention of the *paidagogos*, e.g. in Gal. iii. 24, is taken to indicate that the readers must have been familiar with a characteristic Greek institution, and must have known it as a thing "salutary and good," differing even from the borrowed institution in Roman society. The passage, it is argued, "places us in the midst of Greek city life as it was in the better period of Greek history," and in an "early state of Greek manners"—all applying to South Galatia, and showing nothing characteristic of North Galatia. The statement in Gal. iv. 4 is taken to mean (it is strange that it should ever be otherwise understood) that "Jesus existed in the fullest sense as the Son of God before He was sent into the world." Professor Ramsay notices how Peter uses the word "fulfil" (Acts iii. 18) as Paul uses it in this Epistle, and how the addresses of the former in Acts resemble the Galatian address of the latter. He asks whether this similarity in their view may not be the reason why "Paul specially turned to Peter, and why he went to Jerusalem at first with the single intention of interviewing Peter (*ἱστορῆσαι Κηφᾶν*, Gal. i. 18)?" In the same number Dr J. Rendel Harris gives some further studies of the conventional expressions in early Greek correspondence and their bearing on the

interpretation of the New Testament Epistles, in which he deals specially with the existence of concealed quotations in the Pauline Epistles. Professor Jannaris contributes a paper on certain *Mis-readings and Misrenderings in the New Testament*, which contains some acute, though not always very convincing suggestions. By a simple change in punctuation he renders John i. 19 thus: "And John's witness is this: When the Jews sent (unto him) from Jerusalem priests and Levites to question him, Ho, there (or Hark! I say)! Who art thou?—he both acknowledged and denied not." He dismisses all the usual interpretations of John xviii. 37 as "forced and too improbable to be accepted," and would restore it thus: "Pilate therefore said unto him, So then thou art a King? Thou? Jesus answered, It is thou who sayest that I am a king. I? I was born to this end." Of more importance is the view taken of the very difficult passage in Mark xiv. 41 with its parallel in Matt. xxvi. 45: "Sleep on now and take your rest, &c." With a change in the punctuation and taking τὸ λοιπὸν in its post-classical sense as = οὖν, he makes it mean—"I told you once, twice to keep awake! Well, are ye sleeping and resting? It is (or ye have) enough! Behold. . . . Arise let us go." Ingenious certainly, and so far confirmed by Luke's "Why sleep ye?" (xxii. 46).

The edition of the *Holy Bible*¹ in the Revised Version, with Marginal References, is now in the hands of the public. It is a welcome gift, and will be a material help in the use of Scripture. In the preparation of it much has been due to the late Drs Scrivener and Moulton, especially in the New Testament part. Advantage has also been taken of the references in the Paragraph Bible, which was edited for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press by Dr Scrivener in 1873. The duties of general editor have been well discharged by the Rev. Dr Stokoe of Lincoln College, Oxford, who has had the efficient co-operation of a band of scholars belonging to Oxford and Cambridge. The methods of indication which are employed are simple. The marginal references of the Authorised are retained as far as possible, and the Revisers' marginal renderings are transferred to the foot of the page. The whole is done with the utmost care, and in a way to earn the gratitude of all lovers of the Bible.

We are glad to have the first part of Professor E. Kautzsch's edition of the *Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books of the Old Testament*.² The work is to be completed in from twenty-four to

¹ Cambridge: University Press, 1898. Minion 8vo. Price, 5s.

² Die Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments. In Verbindung mit Lic. Beer, Professor Blass, &c., übersetzt und herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch, Professor der Theologie in Halle. Erste Lieferung. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr, 1898. Large 8vo, pp. iv. 32. M.0.50.

thirty parts. So much has been added to our knowledge of this important branch of literature in recent years that a new edition has been greatly wanted, and this one promises to surpass all others. The editor has the assistance of a large number of scholars who have made a special study of these books or some of them, including men like Professors Blass, Clemen, Deissmann, Gunkel, Kittel, Guthe, Kamphausen, Siegfried, &c. The plan is to give a fresh translation and to bring the exposition and all matters of literary or historical criticism thoroughly up to date. This first part contains the *Third Book of Ezra* and the Introduction to the *First Book of Maccabees*. The former is briefly dealt with. In the case of the latter the numerous questions connected with its history are considered at some length. The name *Maccabee* is held to be best explained as derived from the Aramaic maqqāba, *Hammer*, in the sense, however, not of *Streithammer* or *Schmiedhammer*, but of *Arbeitshammer*. The language of the original is taken to have been Aramaic, rather than Hebrew. The peculiarities of the diction, and in particular certain mistakes in the rendering being best explained so. The question of the genuineness and credibility of the various parts is very carefully considered, with special reference to Willrich's idea that most of the letters, &c., are additions made to the original Aramaic text by the translator. The book in its original form is assigned to the first *decennia* of the last century before Christ. The concluding section and the present form of the book are referred to the close of the pre-Christian period, according to Willrich indeed to the last years of Herod.

The *Epistle of Paul to Philemon*¹ is treated in a series of expositions by the Rev. Archibald Kelly MacMurchy, M.A. The volume is neat and attractive in form, and has for its frontispiece a pleasing picture of the Free Church of Scotland, Scone, of which the author is the pastor. The expositions themselves are excellent specimens of the expository style of discourse in which the Scottish pulpit has been strong. They have cost the preacher much, both in reading and in reflection, and in point of style they have been carefully prepared with a view to the needs of the people. In their printed form they make a creditable addition to our books on an Epistle which has many points of interest, some important lessons for society and Church in our own day, and the peculiar note of distinction of being the one purely private letter that has come down to us from St Paul. A series of testimonies to the unique value of this short epistle is given in an appendix.

¹ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. 8vo, pp. 200. Price, 3s. 6d.

The authoress of the sketch of *Sir James Y. Simpson*, which has been received with so much favour, has published a delightful book on *Robert Louis Stevenson's Edinburgh Days*.¹ The picture which the volume gives us is a very charming one. The writer has a style of her own, and it is a good one. All that she has to say is said brightly and vividly. There is much to entertain as well as to instruct in her book. The account which we get of Stevenson's boyhood and youth helps us to understand better the man who has put his mark on the recent literature of his country.

The fifth section of the New Testament division of the *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, containing the *Pastoral Epistles*, the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and the *Revelation of John*,² has reached its second edition. The volume was the work originally of the late Professor Kübel of Tübingen, and it was good work. It has been carefully revised, and had the newer literature worked into it by two very competent scholars, Herr Riggenbach, Docent in Basle, and Professor Zöckler of Greifswald. It is a book not without its peculiarities, but one which the student will do well to procure. The literary questions are discussed at sufficient but moderate length. Little that is of real use is omitted. The exegesis is scholarly, free of all extravagance, and generally successful. In interpreting the Apocalypse good use is made of the Jewish Apocalyptic literature and of the studies of scholars like Bousset and Gunkel. A remarkable amount of solid and useful matter is given within a comparatively moderate allowance of space.

We have pleasure in noticing the second, third, and fourth parts of the seventeenth volume of Holtzmann and Krüger's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,³ containing the literature in Historical, Systematic, and Practical Theology for 1897, a work of the greatest value to all students, conducted with unabated vigour and ability, and giving a far completer *conspectus* of Theological publications than is attempted anywhere else.

¹ By E. Blantyre Simpson. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Crown 8vo, pp. 326. Price, 5s.

² Pastoralbriefe, Hebräerbrief, und Offenbarung Johannis, ausgelegt von Dr Robert Kübel. Umbearbeitet von Lic. Eduard Riggenbach und Dr Otto Zöckler. Zweite neubearbeitete Auflage, 1898. Large 8vo, pp. xii. 333. Price, M.5.50.

³ Zweite Abtheilung: Historische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Lüdemann, Krüger, &c. 8vo, pp. 177-499.

Dritte Abtheilung: Systematische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Mayer, Troeltsch, &c. 8vo, pp. 501-675.

Vierte Abtheilung: Praktische Theologie und Kirchliche Kunst. Bearbeitet von Marbach, Lülmann, Woltersdorf, &c. 8vo, pp. 677-840.

Berlin u. Braunschweig: Schwetscke u. Sohn, 1898.

We have received also some books from the Sunday School Union, including *Old Testament Stories*,¹ simply told by the Rev. Robert Jack, B.A.; a *Story of the Monmouth Rebellion*,² by Robert Leighton, which reads well; *Heroines of the Faith*,³ an interesting account of Perpetua of Carthage, Anne Askew, the wife of Bunyan, and others, by Frank Mundell; *Meggotsbrae Portraits and Memories* by Halliday Rogers,⁴ a series of stories of the kind with which Barrie, Crockett, and Ian Maclaren have made us pleasantly familiar, showing a keen appreciation of Scotch life and manners in their more peculiar and characteristic forms, which are depicted in a humorous and entertaining fashion; a very good essay on *Christianity and Culture*,⁵ the purport of which is that, if there is any antagonism between the two, it is due to a misunderstanding of Christianity; an Inaugural Lecture on the *Conservative Reaction in New Testament Criticism*⁶ by Dr John Patrick, Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh, giving a careful and well informed statement of the present trend of inquiry, and a just estimate of its general results; a pleasing volume of verse, *The Siren*,⁷ by Henry Carrington, M.A., Dean of Bocking; a small volume by Stanley Hope, with the title, *As Angels see us*,⁸ written with taste and devout feeling, having for its theme the text, "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares"; a series of admirable discourses or talks on the Beatitudes, entitled *Blessed are ye*,⁹ by F. B. Meyer, B.A., pointed, full of practical sense, and in the best sense edifying; a collection of *Household Prayers*,¹⁰ by William Garden Blaikie, D.D., LL.D., intended for use in family worship, in subjects and in terms admirably suited for the purpose; *Leaves from the Golden Legend*,¹¹ including the legends of St Agnes, St Alban, St Brandon, St Christopher, St George, St Giles, with other interesting and well-chosen extracts from the famous book of Jacobus de Voragine, which had so great a repute in the thirteenth,

¹ London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 128. Price, 1s.

² The Splendid Stranger. London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 190. Price, 2s.

³ London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 159. Price, 1s. 6d.

⁴ London. Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 323. Price, 5s.

⁵ By James Lindsay, M.A., B.Sc., minister of St Andrew's Parish, Kilmar-nock. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood. Crown 8vo, pp. 28. Price, 6d.

⁶ Edinburgh and London: Blackwood. 8vo, pp. 32. Price, 6d.

⁷ London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 148. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁸ London: Stockwell & Co., 1899. Narrow 8vo, pp. 54. Price, 6d.

⁹ London: Sunday School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 142. Price, 2s.

¹⁰ London: Sunday School Union, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 204. Price, 2s. 6d.

¹¹ Chosen by H. D. Madge, L.L.M., with Illustrations by H. M. Watts. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1898. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xvii. 286. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries; a cheaper edition of *Our Christian Year*,¹ a series of useful lessons for elder scholars in Church, Sunday Schools, and Bible Classes; an edition of Milton's *Comus and Lycidas*,² by A. W. Verity, M.A., with excellent Notes and Introduction, useful Glossary, digest of critical opinions, &c.; a cheap edition also of the Rev. Dr Alexander Mackennal's useful book on *The Seven Churches in Asia considered as Types of the Religious Life of To-day*³; a study in the typology of the Bible under the title of *Christ Foreshown, Short Chapters on the Golden Types of the Messiah*,⁴ following the old methods of typological interpretation; a very attractive edition, with an instructive Introduction, of Jonathan Edwards's classical *Treatise concerning the Religious Affections*⁵ in the tasteful series of *Books for the Heart*, edited by Alexander Smellie, M.A.; another addition to the collected works of the late Professor J. T. Beck of Tübingen, his *Erklärung der Propheten Micha und Joel*,⁶ carefully edited by Dr Julius Lindenmeyer, one of Beck's most interesting contributions to Old Testament study, treating prophecy in his characteristic way, not always answering the requirements of a strictly historical exegesis, but making up for what is lacking there by flashes of insight into the spirit of the books; a second and enlarged edition of the tasteful collection of *Ethical Songs*,⁷ containing some of the best lyrics in our language, which we owe to the careful work of the Union of Ethical Societies; a very handsome edition of Bishop Wilson's *Maxims of Piety and of Christianity*,⁸ prefaced by a short general Introduction by the Bishop of London, and provided with a Preface and a series of excellent Notes (an important addition to the book) by Frederic Relton, A.K.C., an instalment of the *English Theological Library* which is to appear under the editorship of Mr Relton; a volume on *The Psalms*⁹ by Dr E. G. King, prepared with a view to devotional use by those "who are not afraid of reverent criticism"—a book which one will like to have by him for the sake of its Notes, which, though sometimes far from easy to follow, are often very striking, generally remarkably suggestive, and always so terse and pointed as

¹ By a Teacher. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 346.

² Cambridge: University Press, 1898. Pp. liv. 209.

³ London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 123.

⁴ By the Rev. Robert J. Golding-Bird, D.D. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 190. Price, 5s.

⁵ London: Andrew Melrose, 1898. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xl. 372. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁶ Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 246. Price, M.3.60.

⁷ London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898. Fcap. 8vo, pp. Price, 1s. 6d.

⁸ London: Macmillan, 1898. 8vo, pp. xx. 169. Price, 5s. 6d. net.

⁹ The Psalms in three Collections. Translated with Notes by E. G. King, D.D. Part i. 1. First Collection (Pss. i.-xli. With Preface by the Bishop of Durham. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1898. 4to, pp. x. 170.

to remind one of Bengel's method; *The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of St Saviour (St Marie Overie) Southwark*,¹ a good example of the local history, with excellent illustrations; *the Charge delivered at his Primary Visitation*² by Frederick, Archbishop of Canterbury, a pronouncement of great importance for the Church of England as established by law, and in many respects worthy of the attention of those outside that Church, but containing some statements, especially on the doctrine of Consubstantiation, which betray an astonishing misapprehension of the situation.

Record of Select Literature.

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- WINTERFELD, E. v. *Commentar üb. das Buch Job. 1. Th. Uebersetzung u. sprachl. Analyse.* Anklam: H. Wolter. 8vo, pp. 76. M.1.
- BOEHMER, J. *Reich Gottes u. Menschensohn im Buch Daniel. Ein Beitrag zum Verständniss seines Grundgedankens.* Leipzig: A. Deichert. 8vo, pp. vii. 216. M.3.60.
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- STREANE, A. W. *The Age of the Maccabees. With special Reference to the Religious Literature of the Period.* London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. Cr. 8vo, pp. 290. 6s.
- SCHMID, B. *Das Buch der Sprüche Salomons. Mit erläut. Anmerkgn.* Regensburg: Nationale Verlagsanstalt. 8vo, pp. iv. 157. M.2.80.
- BERNFELD, S. *Das Buch der Bücher. Populär - wissenschaftlich dargestellt.* Berl.: S. Cronbach. 8vo, pp. vii. 298.
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- BUDGE, E. A. Wallis. *The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter. The Text in the Dialect of Upper Egypt. Edited from the Unique Papyrus, Codex Oriental 5000, in the British Museum.* By W. E. A. B. London: Paul, Trübner & Co. Imp. 8vo. Net 15s.
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¹ London: Ash & Co., 1898. 8vo pp. 77.

² London: Macmillan, 1898. 8vo pp. 39.

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Horae Synopticae.

Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem, by the Rev. Sir John C. Hawkins, Bart., M.A., Honorary Canon of St Alban's. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1899. 8vo, pp. xvi. 183. Price, 7s. 6d.

THIS is a welcome publication. It is a scholarly work, lucid and easy to read. It has evidently been a labour of love, extended over several years. The tone is modest and unpretending. The author endeavours, not to solve the synoptic problem, but to supply materials and suggestions which may assist in the solution. If some of the materials are familiar in the lecture room, they have now for the first time been published in a definite shape. If the suggestions, as the author avows, are not often new, they are placed on a surer foundation of observed facts. By a diligent use of concordances, synopses, and critical texts, a number of tables have been drawn up in a convenient form, presenting a large collection of details. Doublets have been subjected to a thorough examination, and their supreme importance has been shown. Good use has been made of the Septuagint, without which all study of the New Testament is imperfect.

The author's critical standpoint deserves description, for it is to be hoped that English scholars generally are arriving at some agreement in the same direction upon many things which not long ago were warmly debated. 1. Oral teaching must be accepted as an important factor in the formation of the synoptic gospels, but the extent to which it operated is open to discussion. 2. The unity, simplicity, and priority of St Mark are fairly well established. 3. The hypothesis of an Ur-Markus may be rejected, but St Matthew and St Luke did not use our Second Gospel in exactly its present form. 4. The Matthaean *logia*, of which Papias speaks, are not to be identified with our First Gospel, as Bishop Lightfoot contended, but were a source thereof. 5. The *logia* were used by St Matthew and St Luke but not by St Mark. 6. The *logia* did not constitute a large collection, parts of which have perished and other parts have only been preserved in the writings of the early Fathers, but a comparatively small collection, practically the whole of which is embedded in St Matthew's Gospel, and, according to Sir John's opinion, in St Luke's Gospel also. 7. The two-document hypothesis must be rejected; several sources were used by St Matthew and

St Luke, but the exact number of such sources it is not easy to determine. 8. Matt. i., ii., and Luke i., ii., were not drawn from the same "Gospel of the Infancy"—a large hypothetical source, which never really existed—but are complete and independent. 9. Various translations of the same Aramaic original do not account for any considerable percentage of the variations in our Gospels, but, as a rule, the same Greek version has been followed. 10. Our First Gospel is a compilation by an unknown author who was certainly not an eye-witness. 11. The editorial element in St Matthew is considerable; still more so in St Luke. 12. The Sermon on the Mount and several other discourses are composite productions made up by the conflation of many isolated *logia*.

Sir John Hawkins distinguishes four sources, (a) St Mark's Gospel, (b) the Matthaean *logia*, (c) St Matthew's narrative of the infancy, (d) St Luke's narrative of the infancy and boyhood. Other sources were used by St Matthew and by St Luke, but no attempt is here made to pronounce upon their number and character. In this respect, as in the rest of his work, Sir John exhibits caution and reserve. Nor is he sanguine that the synoptic problem will ever be fully solved; the materials at our disposal are insufficient for settling everything.

But in one respect he commits himself, though with much hesitation and many cautions, to a definite position, for he holds that 72 passages which are common to St Matthew and St Luke, but absent from St Mark, seem most likely to have been drawn from the *logia*. This at first sight seems attractive. It is Abbott and Rushbrooke's "Double Tradition" under another name. But in the sequel Sir John treats this double tradition as practically identical with the Matthaean *logia*.

According to this assumption the *logia* contained only 185 verses, practically the whole of which are to be found in both St Matthew and St Luke.

Here we have indeed a welcome recognition of the golden rule, that an evangelist would omit nothing which he found in his sources. But are we sure that St Luke obtained the *logia* sources complete? Would not the same causes which have made him omit about one-third of St Mark as a source be likely to make him omit even a larger proportion of these Matthaean *logia*? Presumably in both cases because he was unacquainted with what he has omitted.

Again, if the oral hypothesis is as far true as Sir John believes it to be, and if St Matthew used other sources besides St Mark and the *logia*, what was there to prevent certain of these other sources being communicated to St Luke? And if they were, Sir John's mechanical criterion becomes, as we believe it to be, doubly fallacious.

Against it we have no perfect criterion to oppose. The *logia* were absent from St Mark, present in St Matthew, and some of them in St Luke. They started, like St Mark, with John the Baptist, and extended to the verge of the Passion. They consisted wholly of sayings, most of which were compiled by conflation into five great discourses. But as these five discourses probably contain elements from other sources, and a few of the *logia* are probably ranged outside of them, we have no infallible test by which to distinguish the *logia* from other sayings. A degree of uncertainty remains about them. We can approximate the truth, but not finally reach it.

Two further criteria, however, suggest themselves, and may be thought worthy of consideration. 1. The Oxyrhynchus fragment of "Sayings of Jesus" has been a great object lesson in the meaning of the word *logion*. And although it is true, as Sir John says, that it does not contain the word *logion*, and indeed has nothing to prove conclusively that the sayings which it records were ever called *logia*, it is nevertheless very suggestive. And at any rate there is excellent reason to believe that St Matthew's *logia* were originally issued (in oral form), like the Oxyrhynchus fragment, as a collection of sayings in no kind of logical or chronological order, and with no other heading than "Jesus saith," or, as St Luke writes, "And He said." These isolated sayings the author of our First Gospel, or his predecessors in the task, have worked up into discourses by means of conflation. St Luke by the same process has worked them up into a widely different set of speeches.

2. Ancient oracles were delivered in the form of Hexameter verse, and the Old Testament oracles were published as Hebrew poetry. May it not be that St Matthew's *logia* were in poetical form also? Certainly large numbers of what have good claim to be thought constituent parts of them exist in the form of poetry in our Gospels.

These two criteria give us some interesting results. They strike out the healing of the Centurion's servant, which has no resemblance to a *logion*, although Sir John admits it with some apology. Certainly it contains sayings of our Lord; but so does nearly every section of St Mark. Indeed the sayings in St Mark may be divided into two classes: (1) those that are fitted up by narrative into completed sections; (2) those which are set down nakedly either alone or in small groups; for St Mark never has recourse to conflation. Possibly the healing of the Centurion's servant once formed a section of St Mark, though it does not do so now. We have little hesitation in excluding it from St Matthew's *logia*, although in our First Gospel a *logion* has been conflated with it, viz., Matt. viii. 11, 12.

If all the *logia* were originally prefaced with the phrase "Jesus

saith," the first two in Sir John's list cannot have come from this source, for they must have begun with "John the Baptist said." But this is a trifling criticism.

More serious is the fact that Sir John admits only one parable into the *logia*. If St Mark contains four parables, we should have expected the *logia* to contain at least seven. And the parables of the discontented labourers, the two sons, and the ten virgins have good claim to be admitted. But there are three other parables, the lost sheep, the marriage feast (or great dinner), and the talents (or pounds), which are found in St Matthew and in St Luke. St Luke's recension of them, however, differs considerably from St Matthew's, partly by editorial changes, partly from new and independent information. Sir John by his criterion excludes these parables from the *logia* altogether. But is it not more probable that St Matthew has preserved the *logian* recension of them, while St Luke has taken them from another source? This at any rate has confessedly been done in the case of certain Marcan materials. For in the denials of St Peter, and the prediction thereof, St Mark and St Matthew give us the Marcan recension, while St Luke has followed some other source, probably because the (oral) St Mark with which he was acquainted did not as yet contain the Denial.

We freely confess that the Sermon on the Mount presents some elements which are not derived from the Matthaean *logia*, yet we are reluctant to cut it down to the very meagre dimensions which Sir John's criterion demands. Surely the great argument about the superiority of Christian standards to Jewish (Matt. v. 17-22, 27-28, 31-48) is ancient and original, being neither an editorial expansion, nor a working up of later recollections.

Sir John's criterion excludes from the *logia* the description of the last Judgment (Matt. xxv. 31-46). If there is any truth in the suggestion that the *logia*, or a chief part of them, were poetical in form, this section would have a high claim to be admitted. Even without that we can hardly exclude it.

In other respects, Sir John's list of the *logia* needs careful revision. Luke xiii. 23 is a mere editorial note and no part of the *logion*. The same may be said of Matt. vii. 28a = Luke vii. 1a. Far more serious, however, is the assertion that the verses Matt. xii. 38, 39a = Luke xi. 29a, are parts of a *logion*. Surely they are independent editorial notes, for they actually contradict one another. If the important *logion* to which they form a preface once stood with the simple introduction "Jesus saith," from internal evidence St Matthew inferred that the scathing words which it contains must have been addressed to the Pharisees; St Luke inferred from the same evidence that they must have been addressed to the illiterate rabble, for whom he had a particular dislike. Exactly the same

divergence of view on the part of these Evangelists is found in Matt. iii. 7 = Luke iii. 7, both of which verses Sir John assigns to the *logia*. It is to be found also in Luke xi. 15 = Matt. ix. 34 and xii. 24. Likewise in Luke xii. 54 = Matt. xvi. 1. Surely the distinction between editorial notes and sources is fundamental.

In the list of *logia*, doublets in St Matthew are marked with D, but not doublets in St Luke. Matt. x. 26 has one Marcan and two Lucan parallels. On page 8, 180 is a misprint for 801.

The book is, as the author proclaims it to be, a series of studies in the synoptic problem, valuable as far as they go, but insufficient by themselves. There is room for much more work on the same lines and in the same direction. But wider considerations should not be overlooked.

No attempt is made to deal with the question of St Luke's omissions. Indeed, St Luke's Gospel, which is the most complex, is inadequately treated. Much work is done of a very useful kind by comparing the language of the Acts of the Apostles, especially in the We-sections, with that of the Gospel, but St Luke's relation to the other Synoptists is not explained. It is assumed that he possessed a written copy of St Mark, although the objections to that view are admitted. His arrangement of the *logia* is held to be more in accordance with the original order of the *logia* than St Matthew's arrangement. Granted that St Matthew's order is a very wide departure from the original, St Luke's order can hardly be held to be nearer to it. A close examination of the arrangement of his Gospel as a whole gives results which appear to be fatal to such a supposition. Both Evangelists necessarily departed from the original arrangement.

Sir John's attitude towards the oral hypothesis is peculiar. Perhaps when he began to work he was more opposed to it than he is now. He marshals reasons in behalf of documents, admits that they are inconclusive, and may derive much of their weight from our prejudices. He then gives a large collection of arguments in favour of the oral hypothesis. Finally he pronounces, rather more positively than the case appears to warrant, in favour of a written source in our St Mark, but apparently of oral teaching in the case of the other sources.

In a striking chapter, one of the most original in the book, although it is not sufficiently worked out in detail to have its proper weight, he shows that St Matthew's Gospel, as we now read it, was composed to be a text-book for oral teaching, and that the extraordinary dislocations of order in chapters viii.-xiii. are due to numerical arrangements, after Rabbinical methods, to assist the learner's memory. Surely if oral teaching did so much, it must have been a serious factor in the earlier formation of the Gospel.

No such phenomenon as this is to be observed in St Luke. For in Gentile Churches oral teaching was by no means so popular. St Luke indeed received his information through oral channels, like other people, battered and distorted in proportion to the length of the channel and the number of breaks in it. But when once he got hold of a narrative or of a *logion*, he soon committed it to writing. There was more reading aloud in the congregation, less teaching in the school, than in the Eastern Churches. In fact the oral hypothesis is not so simple as is commonly supposed. Enough if it is gaining acceptance, as it is better understood.

In his first chapter, Sir John says that the characteristic words which he catalogues from each Gospel are "presumably due to the author." An advocate of the oral hypothesis would scarcely grant that. In St Luke they probably are so to some extent, for St Luke had literary preferences and a style of his own. In St Matthew they are more likely to be the work of many hands through unconscious cerebration. St Mark's unusual words, unusual order of words, unusual conjunctions, and unusual redundancies, including the "context-supplements," have confessedly been changed into what is usual and even commonplace. Now such changes are not entirely made by deliberate alteration. Even St Luke appreciated the unusual, and preserved it, when it was neither harsh, nor vulgar, nor ungrammatical. But in long continued oral teaching the usual inevitably asserts itself. The multitudinous changes in the Triple Tradition should not be regarded as the deliberate working of one mind, but the unconscious working of many.

But indeed these lists of characteristic words must, as Sir John sometimes points out, be used with caution. The words contained in them consist in the case of St Matthew and St Luke partly of editorial preferences, being favourites with the Evangelist, partly they are due to transmission, being favourites in the locality, partly they come from the use of non-Marcian sources.

In the case of St Mark it would seem fairer to give every word (except words in very common use) which he uses four or five times. We should then arrive at his natural vocabulary. At present we have not so much his favourite words, as words which he used, but which for some reason were not favourites with other people. For when a word is presented to you, the natural impulse is to accept it; you do not alter it for a synonym unless you have reason for doing so.

ARTHUR WRIGHT.

Lectures and Essays on Natural Theology and Ethics.

By William Wallace, edited with a Biographical Introduction by Edward Caird, Master of Balliol College, Oxford. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1898. Pp. xl. 566. Price 12s. 6d.

THIS goodly volume gives to the public the literary remains of a gifted author who was cut off in the midst of his days by an unhappy accident. The reader rises from perusal with feelings of thankfulness, on the one hand, that so much material was available for publication, and of regret, on the other, that the author was not spared to carry out his literary plans. For what we find in this book is only fragments; here a head, there a limb, and yonder a torso. Nothing is complete; the fullest portions are at most only large samples of the writer's manner of handling important philosophical subjects. The volume, therefore, cannot lay claim to the value which belongs to a continuous systematic treatise on one great theme by a competent author. Yet in its place and way it possesses genuine interest, that which arises from sincere, deep thoughts on themes of general concern, expressed in clear, idiomatic, racy language by one who was a master of style as well as of philosophy. No competent reader will find this a dull book. It catches the attention at once, and holds it to the end.

The biographical introduction by the Master of Balliol is executed with characteristic insight and tact. There is not much of an outward story to tell. The facts fill only a few pages. William Wallace, Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford, was born on May 11, 1843, at Cupar, Fifeshire. His father, at first a working mason, became ultimately a master-builder. He was educated as a boy at the Madras Academy, Cupar, and thereafter at the University of St Andrews. His original intention was to study for the Church, but the mental awakening produced by philosophical study under Ferrier led to the abandonment of that purpose. An exhibition in Balliol College, which he succeeded in getting, enabled him to go to Oxford, where he came under the influence of Jowett and Green. In 1867 he became a Fellow of Merton College, and was shortly after appointed to a tutorship, the duties of which he discharged till his death in 1897. He became Professor of Moral Philosophy, as successor to Green, in 1882.

The main part of the Memoir is taken up with an account of Wallace's literary performances, and of his work as a professor. His chief contributions to philosophical literature were devoted to the task of introducing Hegel to the acquaintance of English readers. In 1874 he published a translation of the *Logic of Hegel* with

Prolegomena, dealing with the preliminary difficulties connected with the study of that philosopher; and in 1894 a translation of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*. Besides these larger works, he published in 1880 a small book on the Epicurean Philosophy, and in 1890 another on the Life of Schopenhauer. As an expositor of Hegel, Wallace, as is pointed out by his biographer, was at once a faithful disciple and very free from servile adherence to the Hegelian phraseology. "He does not deal much in Hegelian formulae, even when he is explaining Hegel; rather he is very impatient of such literalness, and never rests in the Hegelian thought till he has reproduced it in a new form, or in many new forms." This is a decided merit, and we commend his example to the attention of such as are prone to abject discipleship to the great masters. The books on Epicurus and Schopenhauer illustrate another virtue of Wallace: his appreciative, sympathetic attitude as a critic, "at times appreciative to a fault," says the Master of Balliol. It is a fault which leans to virtue's side.

As a professor Wallace had a way of his own. He did not read lectures fully written out, but spoke *extempore* out of a mind filled by previous meditation. Nor was he systematic in his teaching; he rather offered, after the manner of an impressionist, fresh disjointed contributions towards the illumination of the subject in hand. He was not a dry prosaic teacher of philosophy, but rather a poetic *preacher* of philosophy. A pupil said of him: "He is never other than stimulating and suggestive, and, in a sense, he was always preaching." Such a method, when used in a masterly manner, is sure to be successful with students, and it was eminently successful in Wallace's hands. "His hearers seemed to be receiving thought in the making, and not as the cut-and-dried product of the study. The play of his mind upon the questions discussed, the strange touches of humour with which his discourse was lighted up, the subtle beauty and conclusiveness of expression which he often attained, and, through it all, the gravity and earnestness of his manner, produced an impression which was unique of its kind."

The first place in the volume now published is given to the Gifford Lectures, delivered by Professor Wallace in the University of Glasgow, in two courses, in the winters of 1894, 1895, the first course having for its theme Natural Theology, and the second the relations of Morality and Religion. Of the first course only a few of the lectures seem to have been written; of the second, eight are preserved in written form. What is given to us, therefore, is only a fragment; twelve lectures out of double the number. In their published form the lectures will help to correct an impression made at the time of their delivery by the reports which appeared in the newspapers. The feeling was that the lecturer was an eccentric

man, who was not taking his office seriously, but using it as an opportunity for uttering humorous, whimsical, almost flippant opinions, on grave subjects in a very off-hand manner. The printed page gives a very different impression. The style is dignified, the tone serious, and some of the lectures touch the highest water-mark of the author's literary capabilities. Take as a sample the following from the third lecture of the first course on *The Natural Theology of Christ*: "The great deed that seems to emerge as the life of Christ is the bringing into one of God and man; the discovery that the supernatural is in the natural, the spiritual in the physical; the eternal life as the truth and basis of this; God manifest in the flesh; removal of the partition wall between God and man; the immanence of the Divine, not as a new and imparted element in human life, a special bit of man peculiarly holy, but as the truth and life in life. And the practical corollary is two-fold: first, it is absolute peace in believing, the assurance of reunion, the good conscience which is free from the bondage of the weak and beggarly elements, the pure heart which rejoiceth in the Lord; the removal of fear and doubt; the 'strength which is as the strength of ten.' The veil is rent away which in the days of ignorance hid God, and made Him an unknown God. . . . But there is another side: the absolute freedom of the Christian man is absolute allegiance to God; his independence rests in utter dependence. His freedom is from the tyranny of partial claims, individual desires and objects, from the halfnesses and weaknesses of our nature; and it is won by identification with the universal."

Of the last six lectures taken from the second course Dr Caird remarks: "These lectures, though they have not been in any way revised or corrected since they were first written, seem to me to contain some of the most original and suggestive pages which Professor Wallace has produced." They are certainly of a high quality. They begin with a statement and criticism of the views of Mr Balfour in his well-known work *The Foundations of Belief*. The tone of the lecturer here is not keenly controversial, but the effect of all he says is to make us very conscious of the limitations and the general unsatisfactoriness of Mr Balfour's treatment of his subject. He finds therein only critical as distinct from constructive thought—"the weakness of a man who possesses considerable faculty of dialectic and enjoys the zest of debate, and whose instinct is to look for weak points, pulling a complex theory to pieces by piece-meal attack." The book, in his judgment, raises an altar to "an unknown God." Even the Incarnation is not a revelation of God's spirit but only a mystery serving some practical uses, *e.g.*, enabling man to realise the dignity of human nature against the immensity of the material universe. Over against this external conception

the Gifford lecturer sets a loftier view of the doctrine as teaching that all men are sons of God, and that God is immanent in humanity, suffering, enjoying with men, their bodies temples of the holy one who inhabiteth eternity, "The eternal reality is in it all : God is in it all : not, as Mr Balfour seems to think, alone by himself, enjoying an unchanging beauty of which we can only catch glimpses, but with us, and in us, suffering in us and with us, the captain of our salvation, the first fruits of many brothers."

Professor Wallace totally dissents from the view of human reason held in common by Mr Balfour and Mr Kidd, the author of the famous work *Social Evolution*. Both vilify reason, make it the great divider, underestimate its function in religion, treat it in fact as if it were an antiod : the Persian Ahriman redivivus. Against both the lecturer contends that religion is rational in proportion to its truth and worth, that reason is not in its proper nature a divider but a uniter, and that it is not selfish but social. "To be reasonable is, in the full sense of the term, to be human." "Whence came this reason? Reason, we have lately heard from Mr Kidd, is individualistic in the uttermost, the weapon of disintegration. When we say, 'Come let us reason together,' it appears that we mean (not as the men of old time thought, 'Let us try to agree and remove the stumbling-blocks that cause jars between us,' but, in the modern language,) 'Let us dispute and divide.' Now it is simply impossible to allow anyone thus to play the fool with language." Reason, so far from being inherently individualistic and anti-social, is absolutely a "social product : it appears and lives in human association." In the words of Fichte : 'Man would not be rational or human, were he purely isolated and unsocial.' Wholesome sound doctrine !

After the Gifford lectures come a group of nine essays in Moral Philosophy forming the second large division of the volume. The topics are these : Our Natural Rights ; Person and Personality ; Responsibility ; Duty ; Hedonism ; Utilitarianism ; the Ethics of Socialism ; the Relations of Fichte and Hegel to Socialism ; the Legal, Social and Religious Functions of Morality. Weighty themes, suggestively treated, though the interest of the reader is perhaps not so well sustained as in the lectures. Attention quickens when we come to the burning question of socialism. But here again we experience a disappointment. What is given us is but a fragment. At the end of the essay on the ethics of socialism the editor appends this note : "This lecture seems to have been the introduction to a fuller discussion of the subject, of which there remain only a few notes, and the section which follows dealing with the views of Fichte and Hegel." This seems to have been the author's way : to begin useful plans, then leave off, as if weary

prematurely of the task. Perhaps it would have been the same if he had lived the appointed threescore years and ten: something attempted, not done, but left incomplete. One seems to read this in the excellent portrait facing the title-page, with its weary eyes, wrinkled brow, and sad stoical expression. But let us make the most of what we have got. The lecture on socialistic ethics is characteristically generous. It credits socialism with "keeping people alive to the fact that the social compact is always making and never made, and that it has now become like an ill-fitting dress, which is displacing the assimilative system of society, causing irregular excitation of the heart, and clogging the organs of breathing." It has even a good word to say of "Anarchism." "Anarchism is an unfortunate name, a distorted expression of the view that the more human action proceeds from internal motives, and the less it is vitiated by 'all the paraphernalia of official authority, which is after all a burden,' the better will be the results for human welfare and individual development. If thus conceived as an ideal of the state where each is a law to himself, because his basal principle is a faith of solidarity with others, and where free play is given to faculty in all its individuality of growth, because it draws its force from a common soil, anarchy is transformed into an angel of light."

The third and smallest division of the book contains four critical essays on *Lotze*, *Nietzsche's Criticism of Morality*, *Nietzsche's 'Thus Spake Zarathustra'*, and *Studies in the Hegelian Dialectic* by John M. E. M'Taggart. The Essay on Lotze is specially interesting and helpful to the understanding of the position and attitude of that well-known German philosopher.

We close with a word of thanks to the Master of Balliol, and the gentlemen who assisted him in the task, for the well-judged selection from Wallace's manuscripts of papers deemed most suitable for publication. Students of philosophy will, we feel sure, concur in the opinion that they have done their part well. A. B. BRUCE.

Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbours, including an Examination of Biblical References and of the Biblical Terms.

By T. Witton Davies, B.A. (Lond.), Ph.D. (Leip.), Professor of Old Testament Literature, North Wales Baptist College, Bangor, &c.
London: James Clarke & Co. Pp. i-xvi. 1-130. 8vo. Price, 3s. 6d.

THE subject which Dr Davies has undertaken to treat is generally admitted to be a very important one, from the point of view both

of the historian and of the theologian. The Bible contains numerous allusions to Magic and Divination, but scarcely any precise descriptions of these practices, so that the meaning of the terms employed is sometimes extremely doubtful. Moreover, the intimate connection between the religious observances of the Hebrews and those of their heathen neighbours has, in consequence of recent discoveries, come to be universally recognised, and hence all questions relating to the cults and superstitions of antiquity have acquired a new interest.

At the beginning of his book Dr Davies places a most imposing list of works which he has consulted; it includes treatises so diverse as Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* and Socin's *Guide to Palestine*, but, strange to say, not a single edition of any Oriental author in the original language. Even translations of Oriental authors are almost entirely absent. This would seem to imply that all Dr Davies' information was obtained at second hand, and when we examine the book itself we find our worst fears confirmed. Nowhere does he show any independent knowledge of the sources. In dealing with a subject like Magic—a subject quite alien to our habits of thought—it is of the utmost importance to examine the facts before we draw general conclusions, in other words, to ascertain precisely how, when, and where this or that ceremony was performed, before we attempt to explain the terminology connected with it. An accurate statement of the facts Dr Davies does not give us; yet he claims to speak as an authority on questions about which some of the greatest scholars differ. But this is not the worst. Apart from mere misprints, which are numerous, we continually come upon mistakes such as no one accustomed to reading Syriac or Arabic texts could commit—e.g., *qūzahūn* with *Waw* and *tanwīn* (pp. 38 and 121) instead of *quzahū*, *kūrsiyyūn* with *Waw* (p. 42) instead of *kursiyyūn*, &c. Nor does Dr Davies appear to be much more familiar with Hebrew than with Arabic, if we are to judge by such specimens as the following. On page 58 he mentions that it has been proposed to read שְׁחַדָּה instead of שְׁחַדָּה in Isaiah xlvii. 11, and then remarks, "But as the Qal of this verb is alone used, it would be better to read שְׁחַדָּה (shekhadah). The English will then be: 'There shall come upon thee an evil which thou art not able to prevent by payment.'" Hebraists scarcely need to be reminded that whereas שְׁחַדָּה is a possible form of the Infinitive Qal with suffix (cf. שְׁכַבָּה Gen. xix. 33, 35, פָּתַחִי Ezek. xxxvii. 13, שָׁמְנוּ Zech. iii. 1), the form suggested by Dr Davies is altogether impossible. To point out errors of this sort would be a waste of time, were it not for the fact that the profusion of Oriental type in Dr Davies' book and the solemn manner in which he discusses the

meaning of obscure words may easily lead unwary readers to imagine that they have before them the work of a real Orientalist.

After what has been said, it will hardly appear necessary to examine Dr Davies' theories at great length. But it may be stated that one of his main objects is to refute the idea of a primitive distinction between Magic and Divination—"It should be constantly kept in mind that at first the two were not differentiated" (p. 28). Magic is defined by Dr Davies as "the attempt on man's part to have intercourse with spiritual and supernatural beings, and to influence them for his benefit" (p. 1). Divination, on the other hand, is "the attempt on man's part to obtain from the spiritual world supernormal or superhuman knowledge" (p. 6). Dr Davies has not realised that the purpose of divination, as practised in the ancient world, was to ascertain the *will* of the deity. Divination was regarded not merely as permissible but as essential to piety and to the security of the State, because without some such means a man could not know whether his undertakings were pleasing to the gods. Thus in Hesiod the righteous man is described as

ἀναίτιος ἀθανάτοισιν
ὄρνιθας κρίνων καὶ ὑπερβασίας ἀλεείνων

"the discerning of omens" being inseparable from "the avoidance of transgressions." That a similar idea underlay the divination of the Semites might be proved by numerous examples. When once this fact is grasped the distinction between divination and magic becomes obvious.

On matters of detail a few words may be added. That the Arabic noun *lāḥisatun* (not *lāḥusatun*), "a year of famine," is connected with *nāḥsun*, "ill-luck," as Dr Davies maintains (p. 51), seems very improbable. The Arabs themselves explain *lāḥisatun* as meaning "a year that *licks up* (*i.e.* destroys) everything," from *laḥisa* "to lick"—see the *Lisān-al-'Arab* s.v. This view is in accordance with the metaphor used in Num. xxii. 4, "Now shall this multitude lick up all that is round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field." It must be remembered that to nomads, who are wholly dependent upon the scanty herbage of the desert, such figures of speech occur much more naturally than to us. The observations of Dr Davies respecting the demonology of the New Testament contain some truth, but he goes too far when he asserts (p. 105) that "we do not read of Christ's employing such means as exorcists employ. . . . He applies no medicament; He utters no incantation; He simply speaks the word." Since Dr Davies so frequently alludes to Wellhausen's treatise on Arabian Heathenism, he might have learnt from that work that the use of the spittle as

a cure for disease (Mark vii. 33 ; John ix. 6) was a common feature in the magic of the heathen Semites.

One of the most curious instances of carelessness in this book is that Professor Baudissin, whose well-known *Studien zur sem. Religionsgeschichte* Dr Davies cites on several occasions, is always called Baudissen (p. xi. twice, pp. 36, 52, 102.)

A. A. BEVAN.

Die Worte Jesu

mit Berücksichtigung des nachkanonischen jüdischen Schrifttums und der aramäischen Sprache, erörtert von Gustaf Dalman, ao. Professor der Theologie in Leipzig. Band I. Einleitung und Wichtige Begriffe, nebst Anhang: Messianische Texte. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. Pp. i.-xx., 1-319. 8vo. Price M.8.50.

SINCE the publication of his treatise *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias* (1888) and of his *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (1894), Professor Dalman has been universally regarded as one of the highest authorities in matters relating to post-biblical Jewish literature and Aramaic philology. His latest work, of which the first volume only has appeared, is well worthy of his great reputation as a scholar, and it will, we may hope, attract the attention of much wider circles than those which his previous writings have reached, for the subject is of supreme importance. It is well known that, in the time of Christ, Aramaic was the ordinary language, and Hebrew the sacred language, of the Palestinian Jews. Hence the idea of illustrating and explaining the teaching of Christ, as recorded in the Gospels, by means of the Hebrew and Aramaic writings of that period is quite familiar to us, but hitherto nearly all the attempts to work out the subject in detail have ended in failure. Those writers who have received a Talmudic education are, as a rule, wholly unacquainted with modern historical methods, while the Christian theologians who endeavour to grapple with these questions seldom possess the requisite knowledge of Jewish literature. We have therefore every reason to rejoice that so eminently competent a scholar as Professor Dalman has undertaken the task, and it is greatly to be desired that the reception given to this first instalment of his work may be such as will encourage him to continue his investigations. The volume is characterised by rare learning, industry, and judgment, and contains so much important matter that it is impossible, within the

limits of a review, to give any adequate account of it. All that I can here attempt is to furnish the reader with a brief summary, calling attention to a few points which seem to me specially interesting.

The Introduction (pp. 1-72) is a masterly statement of the problems to be solved and of the methods to be employed in the process. Professor Dalman gives a great mass of evidence as to the use of the Aramaic and Hebrew languages in Palestine, and then proceeds to examine some of the "Hebraisms" and "Aramaisms" which occur in the Gospels. He concludes that the hypothesis of a "primitive Gospel in Hebrew" is utterly to be rejected, and that a "primitive Gospel in Aramaic" is at least improbable. The evidence, he thinks, tends to show that the document on which all the three Synoptic Gospels are ultimately based was written in Greek. We have therefore to distinguish between those elements which are "specifically Greek," that is, the work of the Evangelists, and those elements which belong to the oral Aramaic tradition handed down by the immediate disciples of Christ (p. 57).

Of special importance is the section entitled "The Choice of the Dialect" (pp. 63-72). Professor Dalman rightly insists upon the necessity of determining, as far as possible, the general character of the dialect spoken by Christ, before we venture to explain the origin of particular phrases found in the Gospels. This preliminary task is unfortunately by no means easy. The Aramaic dialects differ considerably one from another, and among all the extant documents in Aramaic there is not a single one which can be taken as representing *accurately* the language of Christ and His apostles. "It would appear," says Professor Dalman, "that there existed in the time of Christ a literary Aramaic language which was used in all parts of Palestine, with slight local variations, and was spoken by all educated persons, at least in the larger towns. This Aramaic of the educated classes, which was prevalent in Judaea, is represented by the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, the Targum of Onkelos, and the other documents in the Judaean dialect, as well as by the inscriptions of the Palmyrenes and the Nabataeans. At the same time there existed a number of popular dialects, among them a Central Palestinian dialect, of which Samaritan is a later development, and a North Palestinian dialect, which is likewise known to us at a later stage only, in the form which it assumed among Jews and in that which is assumed among Christians. It is highly probable that when the intellectual centre of the Aramaic-speaking Jews had been finally destroyed, at the suppression of the revolt of Barkochba, the popular dialect of Northern Palestine spread over almost every part of the country" (p. 64). The oldest extant specimens of North-Palestinian or Galilaean Aramaic—namely, the

Aramaic pieces in the Palestinian Talmud and certain of the Midrashim—are, according to Professor Dalman, not older than the fourth century of our era. With regard to the date of the Targums, he holds that the so-called "Jerusalem Targum" of the Pentateuch is very much later than has usually been supposed, and that those who believe it to contain pieces earlier than the time of Christ are altogether mistaken. As to the writings in the Christian Palestinian dialect, Professor Dalman makes some very instructive remarks: "The Christian Church of the lands in which Greek and Edessene Syriac were spoken gave birth to the Aramaic-speaking Churches of Palestine" (p. 70). I here venture to observe that, in my opinion, the importance of this historical fact has seldom been duly appreciated. There can be little doubt that, before the middle of the second century, Palestinian Christianity had declined to such an extent that it survived only among a few Gentile colonies in some of the larger towns, and a few communities of Jewish extraction who were regarded as heretics by all the Western Churches. The Palestinian Christians of later times were not descendants of the Apostolic Church, but simply converts won over from Judaism or Paganism by Greek-speaking or Syriac-speaking missionaries. This circumstance satisfactorily accounts for what would otherwise be inconceivable, namely, the rapidity with which the historical traditions of the primitive Church died out. The Christian Fathers of the third and following centuries knew scarcely anything of the Apostolic community, except what they learnt from the New Testament; and the reason of this was that the native Palestinian Churches, who would have been the natural guardians of early Christian tradition, had ceased to exist.

The main part of Professor Dalman's volume is occupied by a series of investigations as to the meaning of certain "important conceptions" which form the basis of Christ's teaching, namely: (1) The Sovereignty of God; (2) The coming *αἰών*; (3) Eternal Life; (4) The World; (5) The Lord, as a title of God; (6) The Father in Heaven; (7) Other names applied to God; (8) Indirect allusions to God; (9) The Son of Man; (10) The Son of God; (11) Christ; (12) The Son of David; (13) The Lord, as a title of Jesus; (14) The Master, as a title of Jesus. The volume ends with a selection of extracts from post-biblical Jewish literature which relate to the doctrine of the Messiah.

Professor Dalman does not attempt to conceal the fact that, owing to the scantiness of our sources of information, these researches sometimes lead to no certain result. "It might seem at first sight," he says, "that the linguistic foundation on which we are building is extremely insecure" (p. 65). Probably no two scholars would agree exactly as to this "linguistic foundation," that is,

as to all the words and grammatical forms which we may reasonably suppose to have been in use among the primitive Christians. It seems to me that if Professor Dalman errs it is in looking too *exclusively* to the scanty remains of Palestinian literature, and particularly in his tendency to assume that words and forms which do not occur in that literature must always be "foreign" to the language spoken by Christ. He is doubtless right in censuring those who overlook the distinction between Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac, that is, the language of Edessa. But it may be feared that he himself sometimes goes to the opposite extreme, and ignores the evidence of Syriac where it might legitimately be taken into account. We have to remember that our information about the Syriac language is far more extensive and far more trustworthy than the information which we possess about the Aramaic dialects of Palestine. The Targums, being translations, often slavishly literal translations, from the Hebrew, are, as Professor Dalman repeatedly admits, to be used with great caution. The Palestinian Talmud and the Midrashim, whence he derives his knowledge of the "Galilaean" dialect, are not only much later than the time of Christ, but have also suffered grievously from textual corruption. Of the manuscripts which contain them, or fragments of them, even the oldest are probably not older than the tenth century, and the majority are very much more modern. The scribes who copied them, being accustomed to speak Arabic, not Aramaic, were very apt to confuse the different Aramaic dialects and to omit or alter phrases which they did not understand. Not one of these documents is to be compared, for accuracy, with the magnificent Syriac Codices of the fifth and sixth centuries. When to this we add the fact that Syriac literature is far more varied, in subject and style, than that of the later Jews, we cannot doubt that many words which were commonly used in Palestine at the time of Christ may have come down to us in Syriac texts, but not in the Targums, the Talmud, or the Midrashim. The positive proof of this is furnished by the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament; these pieces, short as they are, contain several words which seldom or never occur in later Jewish literature, although they are quite common in Syriac, *e.g.* ܒܠ "mind," ܐܫܫܐ "magician" (Syr. *āshōphā*), ܡܕܐ or ܡܢܕܐ "tribute" (Syr. *maddathā*). The same thing may also apply to certain grammatical forms and syntactical constructions. When, for example, Professor Dalman concludes, from purely negative evidence, that the use of the infinitive for the purpose of emphasizing the finite verb was "unknown" in Palestinian Aramaic (pp. 27, 28), his statement may be gravely questioned. This construction is found repeatedly in some of the oldest and best Syriac authors, so that it

cannot be a mere Hebraism, although we might perhaps read many pages, or even whole volumes, of Syriac, without coming across a single instance of it. Hence its absence in the Talmud and Midrashim cannot be taken as proving that it was "unknown" in the Aramaic of Palestine.

In order to show that these questions are not by any means purely speculative, but may have an important practical bearing, I will take a single point on which Professor Dalman has laid much stress—the meaning of the phrase "the Son of Man" (pp. 191-219). Some of the most eminent modern scholars, for example Wellhausen, hold that *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is simply a literal translation of the Aramaic *בר אַנשא* "the Man," or rather "the human being." Professor Dalman, on the other hand, maintains that in the Palestinian Aramaic of the time of Christ, the idea of "the human being" was expressed by *אַנשא* alone, and that Christ, in calling Himself "the Son of Man," was using a peculiar phrase borrowed from the Old Testament—*בן אדם*. According to Professor Dalman, *בר אַנשא* in Dan. vii. 13 is not the current Aramaic expression for "a human being," but a term specially coined in order to translate the Hebrew *בן אדם*. Here, again, the evidence is entirely negative, but to what does it amount? That the older Jewish Targums and the Samaritan Targum habitually use *אַנשא* for "human being"—seldom or never *בר אַנשא*, except when they are translating the Hebr. *בן אדם*—proves very little. If *בן אדם* were the *ordinary* Hebrew phrase for "human being," and if the Targums habitually rendered *בן אדם* by *אַנשא*, it might be argued with some plausibility that *בר אַנשא*, in the sense of "human being," was unknown in Palestinian Aramaic. But this is very far from being the case. As Professor Dalman himself states, *בן אדם* is *exceptional* in biblical Hebrew; it is almost entirely confined to poetical passages and the book of Ezekiel, who employs it in a special sense. This sufficiently accounts for the rarity of *בר אַנשא* in the Targums; in their preference for the simple *אַנשא* the translators show their usual tendency to retain the Hebrew idiom, and they do not enable us to judge what other mode of expression was *also* current in the Aramaic of the period. Nor can we argue that because *בן אדם* is exceptional in Hebrew the corresponding phrase is likely to have been exceptional in Aramaic; for it is to be noticed that compounds with "son" are much commoner in Aramaic than in Hebrew or Arabic. Thus for "seed" (Hebr. זֶרַע) Jewish Aramaic uses both the simple זֶרַע and the compound *בר זֶרַע* (Onkelos, Gen. i. 11, 12, Deut. xxviii. 38)—contrast also the Jewish Aram. *בר חורין*, Syr. *bar ḥērē* "free" with the Arab. *ḥurrun*. Similarly the Jewish Aram. and Syr. *ברת קלא* "voice," of which the Rabbinical

בֶּת קוֹל is an imitation, has no analogue in genuine Hebrew. Professor Dalman likewise appeals to the Palmyrene and Nabataean inscriptions, in order to prove that in those districts also אִנְשׁ only, never בֶּר אִנְשׁ, was used for "human being." Unfortunately he has here made a serious slip. The expression אִנְשׁ מֵרַעַם "irgend ein Mensch" does not occur in the celebrated Palmyrene Tariff, as he asserts (p. 194). The clause really runs

דִּי לֹא יְהוּא נְבֵאָה אֲנוּרָא מִן אִנְשׁ מֵרַעַם יִתִּיר

"that the contractor should not exact from anyone anything more," that is to say, מֵרַעַם is connected not with the preceding אִנְשׁ but with the following יִתִּיר—compare the Syr. *lā theghbōn meddem yattīr*, "exact nothing more," Luke iii. 13 (Cureton). The fact is that the Palmyrene אִנְשׁ, the Nabataean אִנְשׁ, is used exactly like the Syr. 'nāsh "anyone," and the Nabataean כָּל אִנְשׁ "everyone" is the precise equivalent of the Syriac *kul-nāsh*. But since Syriac at the same time employs *bar-nāsh*, *bar-nāshā* for "human being," it is manifest that the Palmyrene and Nabataean evidence proves nothing in favour of Professor Dalman's theory. That בֶּר אִנְשׁ does not appear in the inscriptions is true; this, however, will scarcely astonish us when we consider how small is the proportion of Greek or Latin inscriptions in which *ἄνθρωπος* or *homo* happens to occur. That the later "Galilaean" dialect and the Christian Palestinian dialect used בֶּר אִנְשׁ for "human being," precisely as it is used in Syriac, Professor Dalman freely admits (p. 194), but he supposes that this was an "innovation" (p. 195), because it does not occur in the older Palestinian literature. If, however, we set aside the Targums, as being translations, very little "older Palestinian literature" remains, so that the negative evidence is reduced almost to nothing. It seems to me that in the present case the testimony of Syriac is important, precisely because it shows us the danger of arguing from negative evidence. With respect to the word אִנְשׁ the Syriac usage is briefly as follows. 'Nāsh, as I have remarked, means "anyone" or "someone," whereas the emphatic form 'nāshā means either "human being" or (much more commonly) "men," "people." Thus there are cases in which 'nāshā and *bar-nāshā* may be used indiscriminately, e.g. in Isaac of Antioch, ed. Bickell, we read, (Part i., p. 10), "Therefore He was not God but mere man" ('nāshā), and only a few lines further on, "If thou sayest that He is man" (*bar-nāshā*); again, on p. 30, "He Himself redeemed Adam, for it was out of Adam that He became man (*bar-nāshā*); that He became man ('nāshā) we know," &c. Similarly 'nāshā and *bēnai-nāshā* may be used indiscriminately in the sense of "men," and the same applies to the biblical Aramaic אִנְשָׁא and בְּנֵי אִנְשָׁא, as Professor Dalman remarks (p. 192)—see Dan. iv. 30, v. 21. The

conclusion to which we come is this, that the various uses of אִישׁ and בֶּר אִישׁ, which appear *concurrently* in Syriac, are all found in one or another of the Palestinian dialects—though we cannot point out instances of them *all* in *all* the dialects—and that no Palestinian dialect, at least so far as Professor Dalman has shown, employs any of these forms in a sense *unknown* in Syriac. Hence no real difference between Syriac and Palestinian Aramaic, in this respect, has been proved to exist, and, in spite of all that Professor Dalman has said, the theory that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου signifies nothing more than ὁ ἄνθρωπος remains as firmly established as ever.

A subject on which Professor Dalman holds peculiar, not to say startling, opinions is the book of Daniel. He believes that the first six chapters were originally written in Aramaic, and the last six in Hebrew; a later editor combined the two parts, translating chap. i. 1—ii. 4 from Aramaic into Hebrew, and chap. vii. from Hebrew into Aramaic (p. 11). But what conceivable motive—except mere want of employment—could induce an editor to act thus? If he intended the book for readers acquainted with both languages, there would obviously be no purpose in translating any part from the one language into the other. If, on the contrary, the editor intended the book for readers acquainted with one language only, what could be more perverse than to translate part of the Aramaic into Hebrew, and part of the Hebrew into Aramaic?

Though I have ventured freely to point out what seems to me questionable in this work, the reader will have perceived that I am as far as possible from ignoring its great and permanent merits. To Professor Dalman himself the praise of those who feel compelled to differ from him on certain points will, I am sure, be more acceptable than any expressions of blind admiration.

A. A. BEVAN.

Doctrine and Development.

University Sermons. By Hastings Rashdall, D.C.L., M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford; author of "*The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.*" London: Methuen & Co., 1898. Crown 8vo, pp. xvi. 288. Price, 6s.

WITH Dr Rashdall's central position that Christian Theology is a development, and that we must not close the interpretation of Christian doctrine with any particular age or century, but must recognize the process going on in the present as in the past, and wait on the leading of experience, we are in the fullest accord. If Christian theology is to be a living thing, each age must be permitted to express the great dogmatic conceptions in its own way;

and it is a good sign, not a bad one, if "the restatement—let us say frankly the reconstruction—of Christian doctrine is the great intellectual task upon which the Church of our day is just entering, and with which it must go on boldly if Christianity is to retain its hold on the intellect as well as the sentiment and the social activities of our time." But this does not, of course, mean that the present has no connexion with the past, or that modern theologians may safely despise traditional Christianity. On the contrary, the very fact of development links on the present to the past, and requires us to carry forward, not to disown, the truth that has been handed down to us.

Yet here, obviously, two difficulties confront us. In the first place, it is necessary to ascertain with care what precisely the truth handed down to us really is. There is such a thing as arrested development (arrested in whole or in part, more frequently in part than in whole), and development may be thrown on wrong lines. Hence, in order to reach the true idea, in any particular case, we must, perchance, retrace our steps and take up the idea at the point where it was arrested, or save it from accretions that have gathered round it or from the distortions to which it has been subjected in the course of time. To this Dr Rashdall is perfectly alive—as the historian of *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* could not fail to be. But, in the second place, it is no less necessary to guard against the fallacy of supposing that a theological notion or idea that happens to find favour, or to achieve popularity, among us is *ipso facto* a true theological development. To this second difficulty, sufficient attention has not always been paid. We rather suspect it is not unusual just at present to make "modernity" synonymous with "development." And yet it is quite possible that a modern departure may be nothing less than throwing development off the proper lines, and will be disowned by the future. We need only instance the flabby sentimental presentation of the grandest of all doctrines, the Fatherhood of God, that one so often hears from the modern pulpit.

Strong in his faith that Christian doctrines are the result of a development, and that they require to be adapted to the needs of each age, Dr Rashdall, in this volume of *University Sermons*, proceeds to translate some of them "into the language of modern thought." That his effort is in large measure successful can hardly be questioned. The force of his style and the clearness of his thought, as well as his genuine reverence for Divine truth, aid his keen sympathy with the ethical aspirations and the historical spirit of the present day, and enable him to put things in a way that is both helpful and effective. We confess to being attracted by his dislike of invertebrate theology, and of religion without theology

altogether ; and it is refreshing to find a "liberal" theologian frankly avowing, "It is my strong conviction that a Theology which is to satisfy thoughtful men in these days must rest upon a basis of thorough-going Metaphysic." This gives us the assurance that such questions as these, with which the Sermons are occupied,— "Limitations of Knowledge in Christ," "The Historical Value of the Gospels," "The Unique Son," "The Historic Christ," "Spiritual Theism," "The Holy Trinity,"—shall receive a stimulating and suggestive handling. The discourses that challenge criticism are those on the Atonement—"The Abelardian Doctrine of the Atonement," "Justification," and "The Idea of Sacrifice." Here, at least the Scottish theologian—nurtured on *The Shorter Catechism* and *The Confession of Faith*—will demur. While quite ready to accept the Abelardian teaching of the manifestation of the Father's love in the Cross, and while even prepared to emphasize it, he will be loth to allow that there is not also a deep metaphysical truth which the Anselmic doctrine aimed at expressing. Because the old view (he will argue) was lop-sided, that is no necessary reason why it should be wholly discarded : it is only a reason why it should be translated into the language of modern thought. Anyhow, it would not give the complete truth to replace one lop-sided view by another.

But, this apart, Dr Rashdall is to be congratulated on the honesty with which he faces the difficult problems that come before him. It is, indeed, this tendency to face difficulties direct, and not simply to talk about them and around them (which is so common in these days), that constitutes to us one of the chief virtues of his work, and that makes it helpful in a high degree.

No less helpful is he when he turns to practical themes—such as "The Christian Doctrine of Property" and "Differences of Vocation." His own keen interest in all modern movements is evident throughout, and his eagerness to have Christian principles applied to the guidance of them. Here, as elsewhere, the philosopher aids the theologian ; and his philosophy is robust and sane.

But, perhaps, the sanity and robustness of his philosophy is best seen in the last of the discourses—the Murtle lecture delivered recently before the University of Aberdeen, on "Personality in God and Man." This is a very powerful defence of what we may call Psychological Theism—viz., of the necessity and legitimacy of basing our conception of God on our experience of human personality, as given through all the factors of our conscious life (emotional, intellectual, volitional alike), and the futility of essaying a doctrine of the Absolute in terms of pure thought. "The whole tendency of modern speculation confirms the natural tendency of the religious consciousness to interpret the Universe in terms of Mind. So far the Christian

thinker will welcome its results ; only let us have the courage to say that, if we accept so much, we will not be juggled into accepting some miserable abstraction in place of the living God by that old bugbear of philosophical polemics, the charge of anthropomorphism. Of course our God is anthropomorphic ; and so must be every God whom the mind of man can really conceive. When the Hegelian speaks of God as Thought, he is as anthropomorphic as we are when we insist that if God is Mind, he must be Will and Feeling as well as Thought. Indeed, the Hegelian is more anthropomorphic than the ordinary Theologian. For the Hegelian, when he is in earnest about his Theism, always seems to assume that God's thinking is exactly the same as ours, except for the fact that he comprehends all the Universe at once : whereas the Theologians have always insisted that such terms as Thought and Will and Love are always applied to God, *sensu eminentiori*. We apply these terms to Him because they are the highest categories that we have. We must use them, or we must cease to think at all. We shall not think of God more worthily or truly by hypostatizing one side of human nature, and banishing from our conception of God all that gives his highest worth and loveliness to man. Far more philosophical is the position of the orthodox Scholasticism which declares that God is essentially a Trinity—Power, Wisdom, and Love—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—three persons or eternally distinguishable properties united in one indivisible Unity. Such a God too can be intelligibly conceived of as revealing Himself in man—imperfectly, progressively in the whole history of the human race, pre-eminently and supremely in Him who beheld the open vision of God as His Father, and taught us by character and word and life to think of Him as being essentially Love."

To thinking people, perplexed about the subject of Personality, this Sermon, together with the first in the volume (on "Spiritual Theism"), ought to be a real help. WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire.

By Samuel Dill, M.A., Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Belfast. London : Macmillan & Co., 1898. Pp. 402. Price, 12s. net.

THIS book is an interesting and careful study of an important but comparatively little known period of the world's history, lying between 370 and 470 A.D. The Gothic kingdom of Theodoric had not yet appeared and the reconquest of the peninsula by Justinian was in the further future. Julian the Apostate had died just before

the period begins ; the sack of Rome by the Goths under Alaric, the foundations of the Gothic lordship over Gaul and Spain, and of the Vandal dominion in Africa, the nightmare of the Huns, and the sack of Rome by the Vandals attacking from Africa, all fall within the period. It includes the whole Christian life of St Augustine ; and this fact alone makes it worth the attention of the Church historian.

The period is the time covered by the first book of Gregorovius' *History of Rome in the Middle Ages*, by Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chapters xxv.-xxxi., xxxiii.-xxxvi., by Milman's *Latin Christianity*, bk. i. 2 and bk. ii., to name common authorities ; only Mr Dill's business is not to describe the march of great events, but to show us the way in which the people lived in Rome, in their country houses or on their great provincial estates ; to let us see how the farms were managed and the taxes paid ; how the curse of slavery was eating into every part of the social life of the time, sapping its morals, enervating its spirit, and prostrating its energies ; how the strong ascetic spirit displayed by the noblest Christian leaders was turning the Church aside from the great task of purifying the corruptions of the age. The book is a valuable one, and supplies a long felt want. I do not know of any one which occupies its exact field, although Ozanam's *Civilisation of the Fifth Century* (Lond. 1868), goes over part of the ground. Mr Dill's book supplies also a valuable corrective to the pictures of the times drawn from Jerome among the ancients and from Gibbon among the moderns. The chief fault to be found with the work is a lack of the faculty of grouping the material.

The principal authorities which Mr Dill makes use of in his description of the social life of the times are the familiar *Letters* of Q. Aurelius Symmachus, the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, the *Letters* of Jerome and of Augustine, the *History* of Ammianus Marcellinus, the *Poems* of Ausonius, the *Eucharistichon* of Paulinus (called Pellaëus, because born at Pella in Macedonia but an inhabitant of Gaul), the enactments of the emperors especially those of the *Theodosian Code*, the *History* of Orosius, Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St Martin of Tours*, the *Letters* and *Poems* of Apollinaris Sidonius, and Salvianus' *De Gubernatione Dei*. The value of the book may be determined by a statement of the authorities on which it is based. Mr Dill's authorities are pagans and Christians, men of senatorial rank, Roman officials and veteran soldiers, professors and bishops, presbyters and simple country gentlemen.

Q. Aurelius Symmachus was the recognised leader of the old pagan nobility of Rome ; his collection of 147 letters, published in ten books by his son, gives probably the most colourless documents, so far as public events go, that ever issued from the pen of a states-

man. But they describe almost unconsciously the society in which he moved with its curious commingling of conservative pagans and aggressive Christians, St Ambrose of Milan being one of the latter. The *Saturnalia* of Macrobius is an imitation of the *Attic Nights* of Aulus Gellius, and its value consists in the incidental allusions made by the members of the company who assemble for discussions to the customs, usages, and manners of thinking of the times. Macrobius, like Symmachus, is a pagan, and one who gives scarce a thought to the fact that Christianity has become the dominant religion in the world around him. Ausonius was probably a Christian, but only in name, for the man himself is saturated with the old pagan feelings. He had been a lawyer, then a professor of rhetoric at Bordeaux, then tutor to Gratian, the son of the Emperor Valentinus; he retired to live a country life not far from Bordeaux. He has left a large collection of writings of which the *Epigrams*, the *Ephemeris* (or an account of a day's life and work), and the *Parentalia*, are of most importance for the purposes of this book. Paulinus Pellaeus, was the grandson of Ausonius, and his curious autobiographical poem is perhaps the most interesting of all the sources consulted by Mr Dill; for the life described was full of the strangest vicissitudes, and the autobiography, which depicts in the beginning the busy indolence of a young country gentleman of somewhat refined tastes, has to relate the loss of all possessions in the Gothic invasion, hard work as a small farmer to provide the necessities of life, and a competence at last reached through the generosity of a Gothic conqueror. Apollinaris Sidonius is at once a member of the old Roman aristocracy, a great landowner, and a Christian bishop. His *Letters* are extremely interesting and Mr Dill has made full use of them and also of his *Panegyrics*. It is scarcely necessary to describe the other sources for they are better known.

The author weaves the information these various writings give him with all the incidental sources of information at his command in order to portray the social life of the times. He divides his subject into five parts:—in which he discusses the tenacity of the old paganism, the social life of the time in Rome and in the Provinces, the gradual failure of the Roman administration and the accompanying ruin of the middle classes, the way in which the Barbarian invasions were regarded by Romans, and the literary culture of the period. Probably the most interesting portions of the book for the general reader are the first, second, and fourth books; at all events these are the parts in which Mr Dill gives us information not easily accessible elsewhere.

During the last quarter of the fourth century and for some time longer, paganism not only flourished, but was not without hope of

undoing the work of Constantine. The attempt of Julian to weave the loftier traditions of an æsthetic and philosophical heathenism, the abstract monotheism of neo-platonism and the moral ideals of Christianity into an eclectic paganism had failed; but the failure was too recent to be accepted as final by the pagan aristocracy of Rome. The insurrection of Eugenius, who promised to stable his horses in the Christian basilicas, showed the strength of paganism in Italy in the end of the fourth century; and the extravagant hopes that the policy of toleration inaugurated by Stilicho would lead to a more direct recognition of the old religion, showed how tenacious were the pagan expectations. This old paganism was firmly rooted in the Senate and in the old Roman aristocracy, whether of the capital or of the Provinces; their wives and daughters might become Christians and aspire even to the ascetic life, but they still cherished the old divinities and the old religious rites under which Rome had grown to greatness. The imperial legislation in favour of Christianity did not seem to trouble them much, and they record their delight when more insignificant people than themselves disregard it. For by this time it must be understood that the emperors did not profess toleration; indeed there never had been toleration in the strict meaning of the word; for non-conformist Christians had never been tolerated, and the Montanists, Marcionists, Donatists, who were all in existence as Christian separatists down to the sixth century, had always been liable to persecution. But from 381, for a quarter of a century at least, the emperors by legislation strove to curb the power of the pagans. At first the laws were directed against those who, having been Christians, relapsed into heathenism or Judaism; but in 391, offering sacrifices to heathen divinities and the visitation of heathen temples were absolutely forbidden; and in 392 all pagan worship was forbidden in long and exhaustive enumeration, including the most private worship of the household gods by incense lights or garlands. It is evident, however, from the frequent repetition of such laws with increasing penalties, that the emperors could not get them enforced; and this is not to be wondered at, because the provincial magistrates and municipal officers, who had to put the laws in force, were often themselves pagans.

It is not to be supposed that these old Roman senators who fought against the removal of the statue of Victory and then pled for its restitution, or who clung to the last to the ancient auguries and state divinations, were fanatical pagans. They were probably as sceptical as Cicero, or if they had a religion it was probably an eclectic neo-platonism; but they clung to all the old, stately ceremonial of the old state-paganism from a sentiment of patriotism, from a reluctance to let go anything which belonged to the ancient

grandeur of Roman ceremonial, and from a dislike to Christianity. Neo-platonism was THE religion of the cultured pagan; its abstract monotheism, with its idea of the Supreme One whose Temple is the world, with its thought that all the divinities of the nations are but names for the manifestation of the powers of the One, with its justification of divination and auguries, magic and astrology, with its power to give a background of philosophical and religious monotheism to all pagan creeds and thus not disturb the actual practice of any, appealed to them both as cultivated thinkers and as practical statesmen; and the influence of this neo-platonism was apparently very strong in Rome and in the West. As for the common people, what kept them heathens was the belief in magic and their inordinate cravings for the ferocities of the amphitheatre and the obscenities of the theatres, and their attachment to the pagan festivals and state holidays. The bloody gladiatorial combats went on in Rome until 404 A.D., the emperors being evidently afraid to put a stop to them, and they were only ended by the devotion of a monk who threw himself into the arena amid the execrations of the crowd, and stopped the combat with the loss of his own life. As for the theatres, the Church was held to have won a great triumph when a law was passed declaring that an actress who, *in articulo mortis*, had received the sacraments was not to be dragged back to her degraded calling in case of recovery. It is, of course, to be remembered that according to Roman ideas, actors and actresses were chained for life to a calling which, from the favourite obscene pantomimes, could not avoid being degrading and repulsively immoral. So tenaciously did the people cling to the local deities and the old festivals, that only the very questionable practice of substituting local saints and giving Christian instead of pagan names to the festivals, gave the Church a nominal triumph.

The great rival of Christianity, however, in the end of the fourth century was undoubtedly *Mithras* worship, the superlative, if we may call it so, of those eastern cults which during all the Christian centuries had been growing in popularity, taking deeper and deeper hold on the popular imagination, and proving the greatest antagonists of the Christian faith. It is the opinion of Renan that *Mithras* worship had attained such a strength in the beginning of the fourth century, that it might easily have ousted Christianity from becoming the imperial religion. However that may be, its presence, its fascination, its advance among the members of the old Roman aristocracy, are all things that must be taken into account when the question of the tenacity of paganism is discussed, and Mr Dill has done well to call special attention to it.

The social life then, which was lived in the end of the fourth and in the beginning of the fifth centuries, was one in which paganism

and Christianity strove for the mastery ; what kind of society was it and how did Christians and pagans behave towards each other ? I think that Mr Dill has shown quite conclusively that the moral corruption of the times has been exaggerated, or at least that it was not so bad as in the times of the earlier empire. I am not quite sure that I agree with him in the ways by which he reaches this conclusion, but with the conclusion itself I heartily concur. I scarcely think that one is entitled to set aside the denunciations of Jerome and Ammianus Marcellinus because of the pictures of family life in the letters of Symmachus. The period before the Revolution in France was admittedly very corrupt ; yet what delightful pictures of the purest Christian lives and the deepest family affection can be got from some of the old French family memoirs of that time. What strikes me is that both heathen and Christian moralists denounce the same vices, and that the ordinary pagan standard has become much higher ; for the morality of a period is to be judged, not so much by the practice, as by the standard set up. It is very interesting also to note that the heathen moralist declaims against pagans and the Christian censor flogs Christians. Christians and pagans evidently mutually respect men of decent living although of opposite religions. Ammianus is very fair indeed to the Christians when he refers to them. Jerome has evidently not only a real respect but a lurking affection for some of the pagans. His letters show how closely the pagan and the Christian intermingled in the everyday, and even in the family life of the times. Take the picture he allows us to draw from his letters of the household of the pagan pontiff Albinus. The wife of Albinus was a Christian. His daughter Laeta was a young Christian matron after Jerome's own heart, who brought her husband into the Church. Jerome portrays the old pagan grandfather with his small grandchild on his knees listening to the Christian hymns she has learnt, and is proud to repeat to him. Other examples might be given from the pages of Jerome, and what makes them valuable is that no man knew better what he was describing. Jerome had been "the secretary and intimate friend of Pope Damasus, and one of the most influential ecclesiastics in Rome" ; he had mingled in the inner life of the great houses he describes. The letters of Symmachus, Ambrose, and Augustine reveal the terms of mutual respect in which the nobler pagans and the earnest-minded Christians lived. They respected each other much more highly than they did some at least of the members of their own communions. The pagan lashes the pagans and the Christian pours scorn on the Christians. I need not quote Ammianus, for Gibbon has summarised his indictment against Roman society. Jerome's descriptions of the worldly-minded clergy

of his day, of the haughty Christian dames, of the monkish imposters have been reproduced again and again, and are carefully sketched by Mr Dill. It is a strange world which the author brings before us in the last years of the fourth and in the beginning of the fifth century. Grave and pure living pagans, with their social meetings modelled on the Symposium of Plato, devout monotheists, but unable to accept Christianity—for paganism was never so much imbued with elevation of thought and pure morality as it was just before its final eclipse—yet forced by religious partisanship to be the zealous maintainers of the bloody cruelties of the gladiatorial shows, to be the relentless opponents of all laws tending to ameliorate the unhappy condition of the unfortunate actors and actresses, to rejoice at all manner of evasions of imperial laws about religion, and to instigate more than one hopeless rebellion against a central government which was too weak to preserve the empire. Great Christian statesmen like Ambrose and Augustine respected by and respecting their pagan correspondents, discussing with them in courteous epistles the highest religious themes, full of practical sagacity as to the pressing needs of upright citizenship, yet forced by circumstances, and by convictions which had grown out of the pressure of these circumstances, to defend the ascetic life which threw aside all civic duties and responsibilities. Great families where the husbands, fathers, and sons were pagans, and the wives, mothers, and daughters were Christians, yet where pure and beautiful family affections abounded. All around the canker of slavery, responsible for most of the private immorality which distressed the family circle. All this characterises the close of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries. While the condition of Rome itself is such that it must have been almost impossible to devise means of teaching and training in virtuous living the common population which had been almost purposely debased for centuries. "It was even more pampered in the the reign of Honorius than in the time of Juvenal. The emperors of the third century had added wine, pork, and oil to the dole of corn. There can be little doubt that this mass of deserters from the ranks of honest industry, maintained in idleness by the State, was a hot-bed of vice and corruption. All the social sewers drained into its depths. . . . The hours of the day which were not spent in the baths, in taverns, and low haunts of debauchery were given to idle gossip about the favourites in the games and the races. . . . The obscenities of the pantomime, in which tales of abnormal depravity were reproduced to the life, the slaughter and sufferings of the gladiatorial combats, gratified if they could hardly intensify, the instincts of ape and tiger in a populace which for centuries had been systematically corrupted by the State."

There is a break of about forty years between the two separate sets of authorities upon which Mr Dill is forced to rely for a portrayal of the social life of the times. When we pass from the one to the other the pagans have disappeared, and the contrast is no longer between heathen and Christian, but between Catholic and Arian, Roman and Goth; for the Goths are permanently settled in Gaul and Spain, and the Vandals have founded their kingdom of North Africa. The correspondence and exchange of confidential thoughts do not reveal any alarm on the part of the Romans about this Gothic migration within Roman territories. Alaric's sack of Rome produced evidently more consternation in the provinces than in Rome itself. The Barbarians had often invaded the empire, and this migration of northern tribes and their settlement within the boundaries of Rome had been going on for centuries. But when the Gothic dominion has become an established fact in Gaul—then it is felt that things have changed.

The correspondence of Apollinaris Sidonius belongs to this period of change. Sidonius was as I have said a member of the old Roman nobility and a great landowner in Auvergne; he accepted the office of bishop and his whole character seemed to change; he was the soul of the resistance to the conquest of Auvergne by the Goths; after the conquest he managed to secure privileges and help for his unfortunate people; when he died they lamented him as if they had lost a beneficent father.

The earlier letters give pictures of the life of the great Roman landlords of Gaul. They belonged to the senatorial class who were privileged to the extent that they were exempt from the most crushing taxation. The bureaucratic character of the later empire gave these nobles privileges without public responsibilities. The pictures we have of their lives remind one of the life of the better disposed French nobility in the beginning of the eighteenth century. These great Roman landowners are immensely rich. They lived in magnificent country houses, and left the management of their estates to bailiffs. They spent a good deal of time in paying visits to each other; and life in their friends' houses was exactly like life in their own. When Sidonius went to see his friend Ferreolus at Prusianum, he arrived in the morning and found some of the guests at tennis, others at dice, some reading Horace or Varro in the library, and others discussing the theology of Origen. They dined at eleven o'clock—"a short but ample meal," and sat some time over their wine telling lively tales. "The hours of the afternoon were spent on horseback or in the bath. The baths of Ferreolus seem to have been in the builder's hands, and the company extemporised a bath by the side of a rivulet. A trench was cut along the bank and roofed over with hair-cloth stretched on a framework of branches.

Heated stones were flung into the hollow, and a jet of cold water turned on the glowing heap; and the bathers having enjoyed the vapour for a time, braced themselves by a plunge in the cold stream. The evening closed with a sumptuous banquet." The life is elegant and frivolous; there is no trace of immoral living, but very little of deep Christian sentiment. Ferreolus had a large collection of religious books intended for the "use of the ladies of the household." All the while earnest men like Martin of Tours were living a rude, ascetic life in order to spend themselves on mission work among the neglected; and Sidonius has every respect for such a life but evidently no desire to imitate it. There seems to be no mean between the ascetic and the frivolous, and yet we find traces of wealthy land-owners who lived their whole lives for Christ without abandoning the world and its duties. Let me quote Mr Dill. "The character of one of these hidden saints, a certain Vectus, might have been drawn by the author of the *Serious Call*. He was a man of illustrious rank and great fortune, but he had learned the secret of 'using the world as not abusing it.' He has all the spirit of an anchorite under the soldier's cloak, and regards his position as a trust rather than as a property. The spirit of their master had spread among his serfs and clients. They are as obedient and dutiful as he is gentle and considerate. He has all the tastes of the nobles of his time; he wears the proper dress of his rank; he has pride in horse and falcon and hound, and the stately serenity of wealth. He maintains a severe but clement dignity. His hours are often spent in reading the Scriptures and in chaunting the Psalms. An only daughter, whom he tends with a mother's tenderness, consoles him in his widowhood." Sidonius evidently regarded this gentleman and others like him as the very flower of Christianity.

When Sidonius was called by the popular voice to be bishop, he showed what was deepest in him. The old elegant and frivolous life was abandoned. He had not the grace to live as his friend Vector, apart from the compulsion of external duty; but when that compulsion came he did not falter. He resided in the largest town of his diocese. He received all who came to him for advice, for assistance, for redress. He celebrated the service himself and taught the people daily in the church. He personally superintended the cultivation of the lands of the diocese. He acted as mediator between the people and the neighbouring Burgundian conqueror. His wealth and his influence as a great Roman lord were all at the disposal of his people, who were hard pressed between the requirements of the government and the exactions of the invaders. When Euric became the king of the Goths the pressure became greater. Auvergne, notwithstanding the heroic defence made by the bishop, became part of the Gothic dominions. Euric

was a rigid and intolerant Arian. He had driven some of the Catholic bishops away; put others to death it was said; he had harassed the Catholics so greatly that over wide districts the services ceased, the churches became ruinous, and cattle browsed "round the very altars." Sidonius was able to come to some terms with the king. Indeed after the stormy beginnings of his reign Euric found that he could not get on without the Roman nobles. He needed them to assist him in governing his territories, in acting as his secretaries of state; and matters became gradually arranged between the invaders and the Roman population. The letters of Sidonius appear to tell us that the reorganisation of these conquered parts of the empire depended not so entirely on the Church as is commonly said, but on those bishops who, like Sidonius, were also great nobles and landowners, and on the Roman senators who took service with the Gothic conquerors and taught them the old Roman methods of administration. If any reader wishes to know more about Sidonius than is to be found in Mr Dill's book, he will find a careful summary of the letters in Mr Philpott's article in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. 649 ff., and in M. Baret's interesting preface to his edition of the writings of the great Gallican bishop.

Mr Dill's account of the gradual disintegration of the Empire of the West, through its system of taxation and the ruin which it brought on the middle classes is extremely interesting; but space fails to do more than refer to it.

It is a pity that our author did not make a careful study of the conditions of slavery in Italy, and especially in Gaul, within his period. That would have made the picture he gives more complete. Is it too much to hope some such monograph from his hands?

Another subject is also treated in a rather disappointing way—the ascetic tendencies of so many of the nobler ecclesiastical leaders of the time. I scarcely think that Mr Dill distinguishes clearly enough between the purpose in the asceticism of St Martin of Tours, and in what prevailed in the associations of monks in South Gaul. The subject is, however, one of very great difficulty, and no thoroughly competent historian of the asceticism of the first six centuries has yet appeared; when he does we shall expect an answer to the question, Whether or not the favour shown to the ascetics of the early centuries was not a way that the Church had of keeping hold on dissenters?

We can heartily commend Mr Dill's book to all those who wish some information about the state of Christian life and of society at the dawn of modern Europe.

THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

Paul the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher.

By Orello Cone, D.D., author of "*Gospel Criticism and Historical Christianity*," "*The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretation*," &c.
London: Adam & Charles Black, 1898. 8vo, pp. 448. Price, 10s. 6d.

THOSE who have read Dr Cone's former work on *The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretation* will be prepared for what they find in this the latest production of his pen. It contains in an expanded form results that were there succinctly set forth, but it is also the fruit of a fresh study of the subject, and an endeavour not only to expound the beliefs but also to estimate the personality and character of the man who "suddenly appeared as one born out of due time with incalculable force and resistless enthusiasm upon the field of primitive Christian activities" (pref., p. vii). The lucidity of thought, penetration of judgment and thoroughness of treatment that characterise the book make it very profitable reading. It follows pretty closely the lines of the *Paulinism* of Pfleiderer (to whom the book is dedicated); and the author, as might be expected, while careful to ascertain the meaning of Paul, is perfectly free and candid in his criticism of that meaning when ascertained. There is just a disposition, I think, to overdo the "hard" and "mechanical" character of Paul's doctrine of salvation, and to accentuate its inconsistency with modern conceptions. It seems so difficult for one to be absolutely impartial in the treatment of Paul, to avoid, on the one hand, the extreme of making him think like a Pharisee, and the extreme, on the other hand, of whittling down the peculiarities of his thought so as to bring it into shape with our own ideas. No doubt Dr Cone gives us a sympathetic interpretation of the Pauline theology, but the acknowledgment of his "limitations" is carried so far that Paul seems to lose all significance for us as a religious teacher. It is hard to see what value he has for the Church, if his thought of Christ is a transformation rather than a development of the original teaching of the Master.

Chapter I. is on "Paul the Man" and deals with formative influences on his mind, traits of his natural character, and his conversion. On the last named difficult subject the author gives us no light. He regards Paul's conversion as mainly an intellectual process. He came to believe that Jesus had risen from the dead (the result of a vision which the peculiar organisation of the man led him to regard as an "objective reality"), and was thereby declared to be the Messiah: and from this principle the step was easy, by a process of reasoning from premises of the Jewish theology, to the conclusion that his death was an atonement for the sins of men; and on this

doctrine is founded "that of the new righteousness by faith, the abolition of the law, the overthrow of sin and death, and by a marvellous stroke of religious genius, the mystic union of the believer with Christ" (p. 65). I do not think this will be considered by many to be a satisfactory account of the matter. The doctrines mentioned are surely more reasonably explained as the result of reflection on the experience formed by the new Life on which Paul entered. The life and experience are primary, the doctrine secondary. I doubt the success of any attempt to explain Paul's conversion that does not regard it as in the first place, and chiefly, a crisis in the spiritual life of the man, and not the turning-point in the history of his intellectual convictions merely.

Part II. contains a series of interesting chapters on Paul's *missionary work*. The author has a poor opinion of the historical trustworthiness of the *Acts of the Apostles*. He thinks "that the construction of a 'composite' portrait of the Paul of history and the Paul of fancy" (by which he means the representation of Luke) "serves rather the ends of amusement than of instruction" (p. 170). The contrast between the painstaking and thorough discussion that M'Giffert in his *Apostolic Age* gives us of the narrative of the Acts and the treatment by Cone is certainly to the disadvantage of the latter.

The strength of the author is put forth in Part III., which is devoted to an elucidation of the *teachings* of the apostle. The chapters that follow are prefaced by the remark that we are not to expect system in the doctrines contained in the epistles. It was not his primary purpose to give to Christianity a theological or doctrinal expression. "He was before all and essentially a missionary, and his cardinal doctrines find in his writings no systematic elaboration, but are presented according to the requirements of the occasion, with varying emphasis and with different forms of expression that sometimes reveal the most outstanding paradoxes" (p. 179, note). The *Law, Death, Life and Salvation, Sin, Atonement, the Person of Christ, the Spirit, Ethics, the Sacrament, Eschatology* are successively dealt with in this part. A brief account of his treatment of the Christology and Soteriology of Paul must suffice.

With regard to the *Work* of Christ, the author holds that the root idea of Paul is his apprehension of the Death on the Cross as a *Vicarious Expiation*. "By his death Christ paid the price of the deliverance of men from bondage to the law, whose curse rests upon all that are subject to it, since being unable to fulfil its requirements, they must bear its penalty of destruction" (p. 261). "Paul thought of God's relation to man in accordance with the judicial idea of Judaism to which the law was inexorable" (p. 258). "The fact of fundamental importance for Paul was that

Christ suffered death, the penalty of the law, and thus satisfied its demands once as the Head of Mankind, so that all might be redeemed from its curse" (p. 262). This may be a just interpretation of the apostle's language; but surely the author goes too far when he says there is no evidence that Paul attached any great importance to the moral qualities of the life of Jesus or to His example (p. 255). The value he attached to the "obedience" of Christ as counteracting the "disobedience" of Adam seems to point to a different conclusion. Our author does not dispute the ethical significance of our Lord's death, but he maintains that its ethical value for the life of faith is, on Paul's showing, entirely dependent on the judicial principle. This subordination of the moral value of Christ's death to the legal understanding of it is not in accordance with the results most generally accepted. Paul seems to leave juridical conceptions behind him when he speaks of the power of Christ's death to destroy sin in the believer. His language is mystical rather than legal, and is the vivid expression of facts of his own experience. The juridical cast of the apostle's doctrine of the atonement is, in Cone's view, its condemnation. "This doctrine of the death of Christ as an atonement for the sins of the world is irreconcilable with modern anthropology which does not regard death as the penalty of sin" (p. 279).

The chapter on the Person of Christ contains much that will be found most helpful for the understanding of the Pauline view. But there is not a little here too that is exaggerated. Few will recognise the following as true. "The personality as well as the name of the Son of Man disappears from a teaching which shows no contact with the freshness and spontaneity of the primitive tradition" (p. 282). Again, when he speaks of Paul's conception of Christology "as based not upon historical facts but on speculation" (p. 185), he seems to me to ignore the essential character of the apostle's statements about Christ and their real origin in his experience of the power of Christ in his own personal life. He upholds the view, abandoned by most modern interpreters, that the idea of the Heavenly humanity of Christ is borrowed from Jewish Theology (p. 293). He also rejects the Pauline authorship of the epistles of the imprisonment because they contain a more *developed Christology* than that of the undisputed ones: but no attempt is made to show that the development is inconsistent with the primary conception of Christ in the earlier epistles. There is much, however, in this chapter that will well repay perusal. Nowhere is the author more successful in his treatment of the subject than in his chapter on the Pauline doctrine of *justification*, in which he shows convincingly that, as distinguished from the process of "rendering one righteous from conversion to, or growth in righteous-

ness," justification with Paul is a declarative act, "the recognition on the part of God that the man to whom it is applied stands in the right relation to Him, is acknowledged and declared to be righteous" (p. 350), and this on the ground of faith in Christ. Nor is faith on this view in any sense a righteousness or taken as the ground of justification because in "the future it will develop into a perfect obedience—a doctrine of which there is no hint in Paul's writings." "The attempt," he says, "to find an ethical basis for Paul's doctrine of justification by faith can hardly be recognised as successful." It is simply on the ground of the relation of believers to Christ into which they come by faith that justification is accorded. It is, strictly speaking, the imputation to the believer of a righteousness that is not of works but of faith. The author refuses to see in the connexion of the believer with Christ formed by faith any ethical basis; but surely this too is extreme in the view of his own admission that "faith is a sympathetic union and a fellowship of spirit and life with Christ" (p. 354). It may be added, that the doctrine of justification by faith appears to the author to be of very doubtful worth. "Indeed," he says, "to men who believe in the continuity of character and who cannot accept the teaching that, on condition of faith in the doctrine that another has suffered for his sins and given his soul for him, his life can be arbitrarily severed at the point where that faith emerges, and the consequences of his past acts annulled, the theory of justification by faith must appear as a speculation which is not to be taken seriously" (p. 366). Scarcely any works on Paul's theology are referred to in the volume except those that have proceeded from the school of Pfleiderer, which gives a certain uniformity of thought to the discussion that tends to become wearisome. But the author has a firm grasp of what he writes about, and the work is an important contribution to the subject, though there is no likelihood that it will settle many of the problems with which it deals.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende.

By Ernst von Dobschütz. I. Hälfte, Darstellung und Belege. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1889. Pp. 294 and 336. Price, 20s.

THE early Christians occupied a peculiar position in the esteem of their heathen neighbours, as they worshipped, without temple or altar, a God of whom they had no simulacrum (Minucius Felix, ed. Migne, iii. 264). Although they professed to adore a deity who had been manifested in the flesh not long before, yet they had not

among them any authorised representation of his personal appearance. This is clearly shown, not only by many passages in the early patristic writings (such as Irenaeus, *contra Haeres.*, i. 25; Augustine, *de Trin.*, viii. 4), but also from the diverse opinions expressed by them as to the personal appearance of our Lord (Origen, *contra Cels.*, vi. 327; Clem. Alex., *Paed.*, iii. 1; *Strom.*, iii. 470; Tertullian, *de Carn. Chr.*, ix., &c.). This is, however, not a matter of surprise. Christ lived as a Jew among Jews, by whom it was esteemed unlawful to make any likeness of anything. Indeed, we know that in His day their zeal against images was intense, for, when Pilate had fixed in the Temple shields bearing the imperial likeness, the Jews besought, with persistent entreaty, the Emperor Tiberius to have them removed (Philo, *De legatione ad Caium*, ed. Turnebus, 1029). It is this former literal observance of the Second Commandment that renders the results of Palestine exploration so comparatively bald from the artistic standpoint.

It was not until Christianity had spread among other peoples, and had become the inheritor of Gentile traditions, that the legends of original pictures of Christ began to be received. Such legends are twofold. The older series relate to portraits professing to be the work of contemporary artists, and pictures of this class are attributed to Nicodemus, Luke, the Sisters of Bethany, the woman healed of the issue of blood, Hannan, the *sharrir* of Edessa, Pilate's wife, and others. The earliest actual pictures of Him of which we have any record were of Gnostic or Carpocratian origin, and they are mentioned by Irenaeus, Epiphanius, Photius, and others; and were apparently well known in the days of Eusebius. The literature of these has been collated by Jablonsky in his Dissertation *De origine imaginum Christi* (Opuscula, 1809, iii. 395). From the Gnostics they seemed to have passed into the hands of other Gentile converts, especially in places where the current doctrinal views were leavened by Greek, and especially by neoplatonic philosophy, and among those who had departed from such a strict observance of the Second Commandment as that enjoined by Tertullian (*de Idololatria*, iii.). The use of pictures, however, did not receive authoritative ecclesiastical sanction in the Church of the West until the days of Cyril; indeed, all pictures in churches were expressly condemned by the 36th Canon of the Council of Elvira (A.D. 303).

Pictures of this class are only incidentally referred to in the book under notice, but they have a large place in the literature of ecclesiastical art, and have been treated of by W. Grimm, Jameson, Karl Pearson, and others. The author of this book is specially concerned with the series of portraits supposed to be of miraculous origin, the *acheiropoiētai*, or those which were produced without human instrumentality. Dr von Dobschütz has in this exhaustive

monograph collected from their original sources almost all the available references to these supernatural pictures, and has traced the historical progress of the several legends concerning them. The volume is one of the most interesting works in the series of *Texts and Researches*, which are being published under the editorship of von Gebhardt and Harnack, of which it is the latest issue.

Legends of the divine origin of certain pictures must have grown up at an early period in some places. Dr Dobschütz regards these as the adoption into Christianity from Armenian, Syrian, and Greek heathenism of the myths concerning the images of the gods which were believed to have fallen from heaven. Such images have been called *diipetes* from the days of Euripides (*Iphig. in Taur.*, 977), and, as in the case of the Palladium of Troy or the Ancilia of the Capitol, they were regarded as emblems of divine protection. The image of Artemis of Acts xix. 35 is called one of these *diipetes*.

This thesis is not new. It is alluded to in the learned treatise of Dr Rainolds, of Oxford, on the Idolatry of the Church of Rome (1598), and has recently been revived by Schwarzlose in *Der Bilderstreit*, &c., 1890. Indeed, it seems a very obvious comparison, but it has never before been so carefully elaborated, or sustained by such a large body of evidence skilfully set forth, as it is in this work, of which this idea forms the keynote.

That introductions of pagan ideas into early Christianity were common is familiar to all students of ecclesiastical history. Gutschmidt has pointed out that the legends of St George of Kappadokia are exact reproductions in a Christian atmosphere of the fables of the Persian Mithra. (*Sitzungsber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, Leipzig, 1861, xiii. 175), while Clermont Ganneau has claimed for these relationships to the legends of the Egyptian Horus (*Revue Archéol.*, xxxii. 373).

The miraculous picture whose connexion with the legends of the *diipetes* is most clearly traceable, comes from an adjacent locality to that in which the St George legends arose—Kamulia in Kappadokia. The accounts of these are given by Georgios Kedrenos, and other writers of the Eastern Church. The parent picture of this series was, according to the story, found in the garden of a heathen lady named Hypatia, impressed on a napkin of supernatural origin.

This picture and its miraculous copies were regarded as palladia, and their history is mixed up with that of the several invasions of that most oppressed portion of Asia Minor. The chapter on this last known series of pictures is one of the most interesting in this book.

The genius of Christianity has in general modified the character

of these survivals from paganism. In all other instances, except this Kamulia legend, the images are not impressed on material of supernatural origin, but are the direct impressions of the face of the historic Christ on fabrics of earthly origin. The pictures are made without hands, but on cloths of human workmanship. In some cases they still retain their protective power as palladia, but in others they become simply articles of individual devotion.

One of the earliest of the supposed images of Christ of which we have any record is the brazen statue at Paneas, believed by Eusebius to have been erected by the woman whom our Lord had healed of the issue of blood, with whom at a later date the name Bereniké was associated. As to its real origin nothing definite is known, but we have several accounts of its appearance and of its later history. There is considerable probability in favour of the theory of Stark that it was in reality not of Christian origin, but was a votive monument dedicated to some Syriac Asclepiad divinity (see *Über die Epochen der griech. Religionsgeschichte*, 1861). Although this monument was not believed to be of supernatural origin, yet it seems to have been more or less connected with the two best known legends of *acheiropoiētai*, the Abgar, and the Veronica stories. Wilhelm Grimm nearly sixty years ago set forth reasons to show that these two were respectively eastern and western versions of some original, and that original is connected with Paneas (see his paper reprinted in *Kleine Schriften* 1883, iii. 138). In the case of the Abgar legend, Bereniké is connected with Edessa by Makarios Magnesios, and according to the anonymous Syriac author of the third century, to whom we are indebted for the oldest version of the Abgar legend, Addai the protevangelist of Edessa was a native of Paneas (see Phillips's ed. of *Addai*, p. 21).

Here it may be noted that the author of this Syriac tract did not regard the Abgar portrait as miraculous, but says that "Hannan, by virtue of being the king's painter, took and painted a likeness of Jesus with choice paints, and brought it with him to King Abgar," by whom it was put into a costly frame and hung in one of his palaces. Even this is an advance on Eusebius's version of the story of the mission of Abgar, which has no mention of the picture.

From this simpler original the later Greek legend of the miraculous origin of the picture has developed. It first appears in the *Antirrhetikos adversus Epiphanidem* attributed to Nicephorus, which, if written by him, would date from about A.D. 817 (in Pitra's *Spicil. Solesm.*, iv. 332), but even although this may be spurious, as Cardinal Mai was inclined to believe, yet the passage is practically an expansion of parts of the genuine *Antirrhetikos adv. Constantinum Copronymum* (see Migne *in loco*. p. 281 and 428).

The history of this legend occupies one chapter in this book, and is given in fairly complete detail. The literature of this legend is enormous, and it is difficult to say anything fresh about it. A version embellished with much fiction was published in 1847 at Vienna by a Mechitarist Monk Samuelian.

The story of the development of the Veronica legend is still more interesting. Dr von Dobschütz, while admitting the resemblances on which W. Grimm founded his hypothesis, does not believe in the common starting point of the two legends. He regards the likenesses rather as due to assimilation in growth than to original unity. In some of its earliest versions the legend formed one of the cycle of Pilate stories and the miraculous portrait was part of the machinery used to secure the downfall of the Procurator. Whether this be so or no there is no doubt of the later assimilation, although ultimately the two stories have again diverged. In the form in which the story appears in the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*, Bereniké of Paneas had painted a likeness of Christ which she brought to Rome to heal the Emperor. The same name, Beronika is used by John Malalas. After many mutations the legend in its western form developed into the modern version in which its miraculous origin is set forth, first given by Peter Malleus in A.D. 1160, and in which all traces of the Pilate connexion are lost. The use of the name Veronica for the picture itself and its supposed derivation from *vera iconia* is of later date, an example of an ignorant "higher criticism," (for which, see Papebroch in *Acta Sanctorum* for May, vol. vii. p. 356). Its germ is, however, much older, for Gervase of Tilbury, though giving his own etymology from the words *vena incurvata*, yet adds as a kind of play on words that it is a "*pictura vera*." In the 9th ed. of Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary* (p. 174) the name is applied to the picture, not to the woman. The mutations of this story are also traced with minuteness and accuracy, and the author shows that the modern legend has nothing but its name in common with the older. Indeed, the differences in development of the two legends are in a sense characteristic of the two churches. The Christ of the Greek story is the great Physician, the Counsellor of Kings, while He of the Latin legend is the helpless Man of Sorrows, on His way to the cross, and ministered to by a woman.

In the treatment of this subject the material is arranged in two parts, in the first or text, the legends are treated historically and analytically, and in the second or appendix, which is longer than the text, the several authorities are quoted at length so that the reader is brought into touch with the author's *apparatus criticus*. The whole work keeps up the high standard of the series to which it belongs, and the author displays a remarkably wide acquaintance

with a literature of which it may be said that for the most part it is as uninteresting as it is diffuse. It is to be hoped that in a future volume he may give us the result of his researches in the Pilate cycle of legends, a subject with which he is eminently competent to deal.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

**Clément d'Alexandrie: Étude sur les rapports du
Christianisme et de la Philosophie Grecque au 11^e
Siècle.**

Par Eugène de Faye. Paris: Ernest Leroux; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. Pp. i-iv. 1-320.

THIS is the twelfth volume in the Religious Science section of the Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études. Since the publication of Dr Hatch's Hibbert Lectures on the influence of Greek ideas and usages upon the Christian Church, and Professor Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, there has been a renewed interest in the study of the relations between Christianity and Greek philosophy. M. de Faye's volume is a contribution to the discussion of this question. Clement is the pioneer in the assimilation of Greek culture by Christian faith, and nowhere can this great movement of Christian thought in its strength and in its weakness be better understood than in his writings.

M. de Faye has more than a historical interest in the Alexandrian theologian. "Clement of Alexandria," he says, "belongs to a time which is not without its analogy to our own. The moral and religious history of the second century recalls in more than one feature that of the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century." "What makes the century of Clement of Alexandria so interesting is that, like our own, it was an epoch of transition, in which the fruitful germs of the future are fermenting." The reader of this volume is made aware that the author, while handling his subject in a scholarly and objective fashion, has in his own mind a keen appreciation of the bearing of his study upon the pressing theological problems of our own day. He gives us, indeed, a historical study—but it is a historical study "with a purpose," and this purpose is the more effectively accomplished that it is not obtruded.

M. de Faye is at little pains to conceal his sympathy with the Alexandrian theology. The immanence of God in human history, the presence of the Logos in all that is worthy in human thought and action, the divine function of true culture and philosophy; the essential affinity of the human and the divine; the depreciation of

the acceptance of doctrines on ecclesiastical authority in comparison with a self-witnessing knowledge of divine things; emphasis on the divine goodness, the incarnation, and human freedom; the influence of God on the spirit of man through the indwelling Logos rather than through mere outward ceremonies—features like these in Clement's teaching are expounded with a warmth which argues more than the fidelity of a historical expositor.

The volume is divided into an introduction and three parts.

The Introduction. It is pointed out here that the peculiar character of Clement's theology finds its psychological explanation in the method of his conversion to Christianity. He passed through no such moral struggles as St Augustine. Like Justin Martyr, he was drawn to Christianity, not so much by the needs of his moral as of his religious nature. From philosophy—especially the Platonic and the Stoic—he had sought knowledge of God and life in God, and he became a Christian because in Christianity he found a deeper satisfaction for his religious aspiration than he had found in philosophy. The contemplation of God, and the religious life involved in such contemplation was the supreme good for which he thirsted both in his pre-Christian and Christian days.

1. The Literary Question—specially devoted to an investigation of the exact place of the *Miscellanies* in Clement's theological writings. A detailed account is given of Clement's great work (including the *Exhortation to the Heathen*, the *Instructor or Educator*, and the *Miscellanies*). In addition to the "Exhortation" addressed to the heathen students amongst his hearers in the Catechetical school, and designed to win them over to confess Christ in Baptism, and to the "Instructor" addressed to neophytes, and designed to discipline them in the rudiments of Christian life, Clement had intended (so our author says) to write a companion treatise, the "Teacher," addressed to more mature Christians, and designed to introduce them, by the aid of philosophy, into a deeper knowledge of Christian truth—such a treatise as Origen has given us in "*De Principiis*." But Clement was here confronted with a practical difficulty. Many of the Alexandrian Christians were suspicious of philosophy, and might have looked askance on an attempt to express Christian truth with the help of the methods and conceptions of philosophy. He therefore set himself to the preliminary task of breaking down these prejudices. This task he accomplished in the *Miscellanies*, in which he seeks to establish the right of a Christian to make use of the treasures of Greek culture and philosophy, and in which at the same time he combats the Gnostic interpretations of Christianity, whose errors had excited suspicion against the study of philosophy. Clement knew how much he himself owed to philosophy; and in the "*Miscellanies*" he enters a plea on behalf of philosophy as a

handmaid to Christianity. The "Miscellanies" is thus an introduction to his projected treatise, the "Teacher."

2. The Historical Question. Here we have an account of the relation of Clement's views to the current Christianity of his day. "Nobis," said Tertullian, "*curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post Evangelium,*" and Tertullian expressed the attitude of many Christians towards Greek philosophy and "human" culture. To go beyond the simple gospel, to seek for a reasoned understanding of the Christian faith, was to be disloyal to Christianity, and to run the risk of falling into heresy. Clement, on the other hand, believed that only through an understanding of Greek thought could the Church win the Greek world to Christianity, and far from believing that philosophy was the work of "demons," he saw in it a divine gift. The Logos was the inward teacher of Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, and Heraclitus. As God had given the law to Israel, so he gave philosophy to the Greeks to lead them to Christ. And philosophy has its part to play in the education of the mature Christian—the true Gnostic. There is no difference in kind, as the heretical Gnostics teach, between "simple" Christians and mature Christians. Faith is at the foundation of all Christian life; but Christian gnosis, as the crown of faith, is the goal of the Christian, and for the development of gnosis philosophy is an indispensable aid.

M. de Faye explains Clement's position with sympathy, but is not blind to the onesidedness and occasional confusion of his teaching.

3. The Dogmatic Question. Here we have an investigation of the measure in which Clement's theology has been affected by Greek philosophy—an investigation which has a direct bearing on the whole problem of the "origins" of Christian theology. Clement's theology has two sources—on the one side Christianity and the Bible, and on the other, Philosophy and Greek literature. Clement, says our author, feels as a Christian, but thinks as a Platonist—"is incapable of conceiving an idea outside the mental categories given him by philosophy." "What in his conceptions is purely rational, intellectual, or metaphysical, comes from philosophy; what is mystical and religious, that is what belongs to the sphere of conscience and feeling is derived directly from Christianity." Our author gives us abundant material for appreciating how imperfectly the two sources of Clement's dogma have been fused. For example, after the fashion of his philosophical masters, he thinks away all attributes from God, till nothing can be predicated of Him; but then forsaking the transcendental idea of God, he conceives of God as the most real of personalities, who cares for each individual and his moral discipline, as a God of love and goodness, whose supreme aim is the salvation of men. In his Christology also, while the

Platonic doctrine of the Logos is interpreted in a Christian sense, Clement leaves many problems to be solved regarding the relations of the Logos to the historical Christ.

In an appendix, a full bibliography is given for the Manuscripts, Editions, Text of Clement, Literary Criticism of Clement's Writings, Clement's Sources, Clement's Teaching. D. M. Ross.

The Historical Development of the Qúran.

By the Rev. Edward Sell, B.D., M.R.A.S., Madras. S.P.C.K. Press and London Mission House, Salisbury Square. Pp. vi. 144.

By this small volume of less than 150 pages Mr Sell again lays students of Islam under obligation. Probably no other living scholar could have treated the same subject with similar fulness of erudition and sureness of result. In Mr Sell's hands the Qúran becomes a new book, and sheds a flood of light on the character of its author, and the movement he initiated and guided. Arranged in chronological order and laid alongside of the contemporaneous events, the successive Súras become intelligible, and also form themselves into a continuous apology for the life of Muhammad. Certainly the tendency of this scientific treatment of the Qúran is to lessen our admiration for the Prophet. It is pitiful to detect him justifying his personal lusts and piques and changes of policy by pretended revelations. Readers of the Qúran or of the life of Muhammad have always understood that in certain personal emergencies he did attempt to defend conduct that was more than doubtful by citing supernatural guidance, but the extent to which he did this is now for the first time shown by Mr Sell. It is a painful exposure, fatal to the Prophet's claim, and yet each step is made good by evidence that is incontrovertible.

The question will naturally arise, how were Muhammad's contemporaries so blind as not to perceive the amount of humbug in which they were called to believe as divine revelation? The answer probably is, that they were so immersed in various superstitions as to have no very keen sense for what was divine, and also that the whole movement was far more political than religious. In this connection Mr Sell exposes the fallacy of Mr T. W. Arnold's clever book, *The Preaching of Islam*, in which he endeavours to make out that its propagation has not been due to the sword but to peaceful methods. In controverting this proposition Mr Sell's historical method serves him well. Mr Arnold found it easy to cull from the Qúran various passages in which Muhammad speaks in kindly terms of Christians and Jews. But a very different complexion is put upon his words

when they are read in chronological order. In earlier Sûras we find such sayings as: "Let there be no compulsion in religion." "Dispute ye not, unless in kindest sort, with the people of the book." But when he had gained power, and could not brook contradiction, his tune changes. "The Jews say, 'Ezra is a Son of God,' and the Christians say, 'The Messiah is a Son of God.' Such the sayings in their mouths. They resemble the saying of the infidels of old. God do battle with them [or 'kill them']. " Direct injunctions to make war upon Jews and Christians are found in the later Sûras. "So long as Islam lives," says Mr Sell, "will these words ring in the ears of every orthodox Moslem, 'God do battle with them!' The legacy of the Prophet is no word of peace, but an inspiring war-cry, which as years roll on ever keeps alive a fanatical spirit. It is a sad ending to the life of so great a man." Or as Osborn says: "The intoxication of success had long since stilled the voice of his better self. The aged Prophet standing on the brink of the grave, and leaving as his last legacy a mandate of universal war, irresistibly recalls, by force of contrast, the parting words to his disciples by another religious teacher, that they should go forth and preach a gospel of peace to all nations. No less striking in their contrast is the response to either mandate—the Arab, with the Qûran in one hand and the sword in the other, spreading his creed amid the glare of burning cities and the shrieks of violated homes—and the Apostles of Christ working in the moral darkness of the Roman world with the gentle but irresistible power of light, laying anew the foundations of society, and cleansing at their source the polluted springs of national and domestic life." Perhaps some who have feared the higher criticism will be reconciled to it when they see the beauty of its method and the value of its results as applied to the Qûran by Mr Sell.

MARCUS DODS.

Human Immortality: Two Supposed Objections to the Doctrine. [A Lecture.]

By William James. Westminster: Constable & Co., 1898. Pp. 126. Price, 2s. 6d.

The Philosophy of Greece, considered in relation to the Character and History of its People.

By Alfred William Benn. London: Grant Richards, 1898. Pp. x. 308. Price, 6s.

PROFESSOR JAMES' booklet cannot be appreciated without some consideration of the circumstances of its origin. It appears that there

is in connection with Harvard University a foundation called the Ingersoll Lectureship, established six years ago to provide one lecture yearly on the immortality of the soul. A long series of such lectures, it is evident, delivered by persons of distinction will in time form a valuable contribution to the understanding of the subject, or, at any rate, an interesting reflex of contemporary opinion. For this lectureship it was inevitable that Professor James should, sooner or later, be selected. He is easily first among popular philosophical lecturers in America, a country where the taste for this form of instruction, or relaxation, is much more diffused than in Britain. Whatever he says is sure to be interesting and suggestive, informed with that charming literary gift and insight into human character which makes us wonder whether the world of *belles lettres* has not lost as much as the world of philosophy has gained by Professor James' choice of a calling. And, for the purposes of such a lecture, it is often better to have a man of insight who can be interesting, than a thorough-going specialist who is merely learned.

As the title-page of the book informs us, it deals with two objections only. The first relates to the modern scientific doctrine of the dependence of consciousness on the brain. If, argues the scientific atheist, mind is a function of the brain, it follows that, when the brain is dissolved by death, the soul must perish also. The second objection is a much slighter one, a difficulty which the author says has troubled him in his own mental history, and may perhaps be felt by others. It is, that if all souls are immortal, the cultured few in the next world will be overcrowded by the riff-raff of existence.

Now let us see the author's answer to these two objections, taking the second first, as needing the briefer notice. The answer does not amount to much more than the sound reflection that it is not for man with his narrow faculties to set limits to the future world and decide what is worth inclusion there. Let us rather, he says, strive to rise towards the divine height of appreciation. The billions of creatures who have existed, and will exist before life ceases on the earth, are each and all interesting and valuable enough, if only our faculties were wide enough to encompass them.

The second objection and its answer are of more general interest. Professor James adopts the scientific dictum that thought is a function of the brain, but gives it a meaning of his own which is compatible with immortality. There is more than one kind of function, he says: there is productive function, which the scientific atheists have particularly in view; but there is also permissive function, which is the kind which he himself adopts. He thinks it is not an unreasonable hypothesis to suppose that there is a world-

soul which fills the universe, but does not manifest itself because matter hinders and obstructs it. One's soul is a function of his brain in the sense that the brain is a piece of matter so organised that it *permits* a bit of the world-soul to shine through, distorted and refracted by its imperfect medium, so as to form an individual consciousness. Such a supposition, according to Professor James, accords with the curious psychical phenomena which form the factual basis of spiritualism, and with Fechner's doctrine of the "threshold" of consciousness. Immortality then will consist in the re-union of the individual soul to the world-soul, which is its source.

The first remark which occurs to the critic is that the two parts of the lecture are not consistent with each other. The immortality contemplated by the latter part is decidedly personal; in the former it appears to be a sort of impersonal reabsorption into the world-soul. If the reabsorption-immortality is really what Professor James intends us to expect, it is obvious that the difficulty of the over-peopling of heaven can have no existence.

At the close of his first part Professor James admits a doubt whether his reabsorption-immortality will be found acceptable by those who are interested in a life to come. He hopes that in future years succeeding lecturers will do something to remove its difficulties, but does not himself offer anything in this direction. It is to be feared that Professor James' misgivings are only too well founded. Immortality without individuality is but a cheerless prospect, and succeeding lecturers will have a hard task to make it acceptable to the mass of religious people.

There is another matter in which Professor James has misinterpreted or neglected the requirements of the religious consciousness. It is in his initial acceptance of the postulate that 'thought is a function of the brain.' He holds that the postulate is offensive if it means 'brain produces thought'; inoffensive if it means 'brain transmits or releases thought.' But surely the latter sense can be as offensive as the former. The question really is whether the soul is dependent on the brain, or whether the brain is an instrument of the soul. The latter is what the religious consciousness contends for. But if, apart from our conscious initiative, physical changes in the brain can produce anything that we think or will, it does not matter whether the cerebral function be described as productive or transmissive or releasing. In any case, one ceases to be the cause of one's actions. Those who believe in the originaive power of the human soul will find as much to object to in Professor James' view as in that which it is meant to supersede.

These considerations inevitably give rise to the belief that Professor James is perfectly in earnest when he says at the opening

of his lecture : 'I have to confess that my own personal feeling about immortality has never been of the keenest order, and that, among the problems that give my mind solicitude, this one does not take the very foremost place.' Yet, one feels, a problem such as this is not likely to be treated adequately by anyone who does not feel keenly about it, and has not long given it the best of his thought. Unless a thinker's insight is sharpened by passion he is not likely to pierce into the heart of this deep matter. It is Professor James' misfortune of temperament, perhaps, rather than his fault, which causes his essay to leave an impression of coldness and superficiality.

Mr A. W. Benn's work on the *Philosophy of Greece* is the outcome of a proposal made by Professor William Knight of St Andrews. In an article published in *Mind* at the beginning of 1896, entitled *Philosophy in its National Developments*, he put forward the view that the development of philosophy through the world's history should be regarded as a continuous whole, but that, in the various countries, the form into which its problems are thrown is differentiated according to national circumstances. Shortly afterwards there was issued the prospectus of a series of volumes under Professor Knight's editorship to rewrite the history of speculation on the lines suggested by his article, Greece being assigned to Mr Benn. The scheme, as a whole, unfortunately collapsed. But Mr Benn completed his part of it, and the result is the present volume. The author, as everyone knows, has already traversed the same field from a somewhat different point of view, the object in his two large volumes on the *Greek Philosophers* being mainly to study their thought in its relation to that of modern days. Much of what he says now is to be found in the larger work ; but there is, of course, a great deal of new matter, and a different turn is given to the whole.

As might be expected from a writer of Mr Benn's talent and experience, the *Philosophy of Greece* is a sound and praiseworthy performance, but it would be wrong to call it entirely successful. What tact, insight and command of style would it not require to summarise so brilliant and momentous a story in less than 300 pages, and yet convey an adequate impression of its scope and meaning ! Perhaps there is no living English writer who could do it. Some have the learning and some have the literary gift, but who has them both ? Mr Benn has the learning but hardly the gift. He is too determined to be dignified and impressive at all costs. There is no lightness and no humour, too much technology and too many abstractions.

The space allotted to the different parts of the subjects must

strike everyone as disproportionate. What would Greek thought be to us without Plato and Aristotle? Surely, like *Hamlet* with the prince left out. And yet the two have less than forty pages between them, while the Pre-Socratics have three times as many. Mr Benn would have been well advised in this slight sketch to have put all his strength into the pair of central figures, and left everything else subordinate.

Nor does the author altogether fulfil the promise of his title-page to consider the philosophy of Greece 'in relation to the character and history of its people.' There are, it is true, many remarks on the character of the Greeks, too abstract in form, but in many cases not infelicitous. But the element of history is somewhat to seek. Surely nothing would influence a philosophy like theirs so much as social history, the institutions of economic and domestic life. On almost every page of the *Ethics* and *Republic* we can see the traces of two such institutions, slavery and the subjection of women. Their recognition was essential to a due performance of the author's task; but unhappily he has passed them over completely in silence.

HENRY STURT.

John Wesley and George Whitefield in Scotland; or The Influence of The Oxford Methodists on Scottish Religion.

By the Rev. D. Butler, M.A., Abernethy. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1898. 8vo, pp. vii. 318. Price, 5s.

The Church of the West in the Middle Ages.

Vol. I. From Gregory the Great to St Bernard. Books for Bible Students. By Herbert B. Workman, M.A. London: Charles H. Kelly, 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 316. Price, 2s. 6d.

The Divine Drama.

The Manifestation of God in the Universe. By Granville Ross Pike, Chicago. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 8vo, pp. xv. 378. Price, 6s.

MR BUTLER has already shown his aptitude for historical study in his work on *The Ancient Church and Parish of Abernethy*, and this neat and handy volume on the appearance and influence of the Methodist leaders in Scotland is another useful contribution in the same line of study, and is to be welcomed for its historical interest and value. In tracing the lines of Methodist influence in Scotland,

the author is careful to claim that Scotland in turn also influenced Methodism. The work of Henry Scougal (1650-1678), Professor of Divinity in Aberdeen, entitled *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, impressed both the Wesleys, and proved epoch-making in the spiritual history of Whitefield. "I never knew," he writes, "what true religion was, till God sent me that excellent treatise." This is similar to the effect on the mind of Dr Chalmers of Wilberforce's *Practical View of Christianity*, and it should be remembered that the influence of Chalmers has been far more profound in the religious life of Scotland than that of Wesley and Whitefield combined. In addition, it is pointed out that Scotland supplied Methodism with some of its ablest preachers and supporters, notably Dr Adam Clarke (1762-1832), who organised Wesleyan Mission stations in the Shetland Islands, when the work of church extension was confined to the centres of population. Mr Butler begins with Whitefield as the pioneer of Methodism in Scotland in 1741. Whitefield was invited by the Rev. Ralph Erskine on behalf of the Seceders or Associate Presbytery, but the simple and large-hearted evangelist declined to come under their exclusive patronage. The effect of his preaching to audiences of all sizes at Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen and Glasgow, and especially the great religious awakening produced at Cambuslang in 1742, and generally the impressions that followed his labours till his fourteenth and last visit in 1768, are clearly put before us. Whitefield's gift of impressing not only large masses of people, but also students at the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, resembles the power wielded by the late Henry Drummond, and, like Drummond, Whitefield charmed men by the purity and disinterestedness of his character. His natural and singular ability as a speaker, and his instantaneous power of moving the hearts and consciences of his hearers, make him the outstanding preacher and evangelist of last century. Mr Butler does not omit the fact that Whitefield in a new and useful manner, by soliciting collections for orphanages and other charitable objects, united philanthropy and preaching, and in this anticipated the social and religious methods of the Salvation Army. It is this feature accompanying his evangelism that justifies Sir James Stephen's eulogy of Whitefield, as "amongst the foremost of the heroes of philanthropy, and as a preacher without a superior or a rival." The author's account of Wesley's early and student life, of his characteristic doctrines of Perfection and Assurance, and of the difficulties he had to face in his frequent visits to Scotland, is likewise clear and full. Wesley entered Scotland later than Whitefield, and began at Musselburgh in 1751. He was struck by the odd and antique look of the Scottish towns, but the features he had most difficulty in meeting were the

theological and ecclesiastical traditions of the country. Whitefield's greater success and popularity are rightly attributed to his sympathy with Scottish Calvinism, and to the fact that he had no desire like Wesley to encumber his preaching with the founding of separate religious societies, and to impose an organisation not called for in view of the regular services and pastoral methods of Presbyterianism. At the same time, up to his twenty-second and last visit to the country in 1790, Wesley was cordially welcomed in most places he went to, from Dumfries to Inverness, and one mark of esteem and affection he greatly prized was the friendship and correspondence entered into by Lady Maxwell of Pollok. In estimating results, Mr Butler candidly allows that Wesley left little behind him in Scotland in the shape of permanent religious organisation. It is possible to trace something to the introduction of Wesleyan Hymns, and we should not deny that Wesley helped to warm and expand the church life and the spiritual atmosphere of Scotland in last century; but we should be inclined to look far beyond Wesley in accounting for the rise of Church Guilds, and for the growth of the Home Mission movement. But, questions apart, Mr Butler's volume is a solid and excellent bit of work, and not the least useful part is the full Appendix, drawn from Wesley's Journals, and showing that the untiring founder of Methodism, whatever else he brought to Scotland, carried with him a pair of acute and observant eyes.

Mr Workman's first volume, on *The Church of the West in the Middle Ages*, introduces us to a wider and more important field of history, and will excellently serve its purpose in the series of *Books for Bible Students*. In surveying the era from Gregory the Great to St Bernard, he divides his work into three parts. The first describes in five chapters the rise of the Papal Supremacy, and in each of these the author grasps his facts firmly, and succeeds in giving us a very full and compact narrative of events. The fourth chapter on Hildebrand and the fifth on Anselm of Canterbury are good examples of vigorous description and vivid portraiture. Part II. is devoted to Scholasticism, and traces in one chapter "The Intellectual awakening of Europe." The effort to understand Scholasticism will call for considerable 'intellectual awakening' on the part of the young student, and still more the subject of 'realism' and 'nominalism,' on which Mr Workman appends a very useful footnote. Part III. relates to Monasticism, the first chapter describing graphically the work of the monks, and the next and closing one of the volume giving us a delightful picture of Bernard of Clairvaux.

An admirable feature of this work is the full list of authorities

given at the opening of each chapter, and well fitted to guide both the young student and the general reader. The Chronological Tables appended and the Index of names and subjects make this volume still more serviceable. Mr Workman tells a pretty story of Anselm leaving the stormy presence of Rufus and retiring to the chapel, where he fell into a gentle slumber as he leaned against a pillar! We promise that no intelligent reader will go to sleep over Mr Workman's pages. In the second last sentence on page 231, 'Anselm,' printed a second time, should obviously be 'Abailard.' We cordially commend this informing and stimulating volume.

Mr Pike's *The Divine Drama* is an attempt to set before us the gradual steps in "The Manifestation of God in the Universe," but we are not quite satisfied as we leave the field of history and enter the region of evolutionary philosophy and religious speculation. The author in the first three chapters traces the progressive manifestation of God "as universal Being," "as universal Spirit," and "as universal Will." To say (p. 30) that "will is character in repose" is surely to mistake its active and essential element. Passing from this gradual unfolding of God as the first step in the "Divine Drama," the author devotes the next five chapters to the manifestation and action of "the Sons of God," and this is followed by seven chapters on "The Family of God," which really contain an exposition of the several clauses of the Lord's Prayer. There are many true and useful remarks in this part of the work, and the writer's views on social questions, *e.g.* the stewardship of property, are serious and practical. The last three chapters of the volume return to the consideration of God, as "filling all in all," as "working all in all," and as "become all in all."

Mr Pike makes much of the theory of the "Divine Immanence," and of the modern idea of Development. Men are but gradual manifestations of the Divine spirit, and individual specialisations of the Divine mind. We confess that we cannot see quite plainly familiar objects in the Pantheistic haze that seems to float over the pages of this book. The author's treatment in particular of Sin and the future life, and the assertion (p. 22)—"The Devil is no more," are not convincing. Here and there (as on pp. 18 and 363), we meet with sentences that baffle us; but we have to acknowledge that the author's spirit all through is catholic and reverent. The volume is furnished with a complete Index. W. M. RANKIN.

1. Spiritual Apprehension.

*By Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies. London: Macmillan & Co., 1898.
Cr. 8vo, pp. v.-viii. 354. Price, 6s.*

2. The Gospel of Joy.

*By Rev. Stopford A. Brooke. London: Isbister & Co., 1898.
Cr. 8vo, pp. 378. Price, 6s.*

3. Aids to Belief.

*By Rev. W. H. Langhorne, M.A. London: Elliot Stock, 1898.
Cr. 8vo, pp. v.-xiii. 194. Price, 5s.*

1. THE author thus describes the contents of this book: "The sermons and articles contained in this volume form a somewhat miscellaneous collection."

Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that this is merely a gathering of *membra disjecta*, without any unity except that given by the binder.

"Spiritual Apprehension" is much more than a title. It is a felicitous and, generally speaking, a faithful summing up of the teaching of the book, which is "to promote an inward action towards things invisible and visible." An attitude is herein described and described with grace and penetration.

Dr Davies contends for the pre-eminence of the spiritual faculties, faith, hope, and love, as authorities in our nature.

In the last resort, vision and not reason, is our guide in the higher life; "the understanding has to follow and serve the spirit as best it can."

This subject is dealt with under various topics, through 174 pages, the half and the more valuable half of the book.

"The Wisdom of Man and the Power of God," is an eloquent *apologia* for the preaching of the New Testament. Young preachers are greatly concerned to be on good terms with the scientific spirit, and it is amusing, were it not pathetic, to observe how they hover round the tables of its leaders "to pick up the crumbs that fall from their literary repasts." But Dr Davies is a veteran, and he boldly makes it known that our business is not with the reconciliation of science and religion—at least not at present. That is dangerous, and besides it is impossible, for any sciolist can pick holes in the most deftly constructed harmony.

He points out that science sometimes asserts the altogether *non-moral* character of the evolution of which this world is the subject. "It has been increasingly felt that the universe from a scientific

aspect affords no grounds of duty." This is backed up by an apposite reference to the dilemma in which Huxley found himself.

"He had argued triumphantly that man is an automaton moved by the natural forces," but in his later years he declared his conviction that men were bound to fight against nature in order to save morality. To the same effect Frederick Harrison (*Positivist Review*, Aug. 1895) despairs of any rational reconciliation between science and morality. A choice must be made, and when it comes to that, men will choose human love and human energy against human reason. In other words, Religion is non-rational, and Spiritual Apprehension—what the New Testament calls faith, and Tennyson, vision, is the organ of the higher life.

Dr Davies falls back upon the Pauline conception of the preacher. "His method was to proclaim the good news of the crucified and risen Son of God without any regard to the wisdom of men. He paid no deference to that wisdom, made no attempt to conciliate it; his business was to deliver the message from heaven, whatever might be his hearers' opinion about it. . . . Men were made to know and love the Heavenly Father, and the Heavenly Father was adequately manifested in Jesus Christ; through Christ men were invited to come to the Father, who was seeking them, pardoning them, and reconciling them to Himself."

The pertinent question is asked:—"Can we improve upon this method and teaching of St Paul?"

If this be Spiritual Apprehension, and it rings true, there is yet room in many parts of the Church for the Confession, "I count not myself to have apprehended."

The discourse on the Spiritual Affections is even better than the first. One is inclined to say, it is the finest in the book. It was preached to the students of Edinburgh University, and even Henry Drummond, who was a master in this kind of speech, has not touched a greater height.

"Now abideth faith, hope, and love"—these are the spiritual affections. The subject is introduced by a piece of fine exegetical work, to bring out the essential permanence not only of love, but of hope and faith also. St Paul's purpose undoubtedly is to say that faith, hope, love, all three abide. "They have not the changing and transitory character which belongs to other things of which he has been speaking. It is true that he is asserting the supreme glory of love; it is greater, he says, than faith and hope. But these two sister graces share with it the significant distinction—that *they abide*."

The dangers of intellectualism—the pride of Knowledge, "Knowingness"—are touched on with rare spiritual tact and tenderness. One feels this is honest preaching to the times.

It is not possible in the limits of a brief review to go *seriatim* over the sermons. We have indicated the lines on which they move, and Dr Davies in his range of subjects gives himself ample room and verge enough.

One turns with interest to the article on "Broad Church Teaching." It was read at the Church Congress at Nottingham in 1897, as a contribution to a symposium on "Progress of Life and Thought in the Church of England during the Victorian Era." It is a remarkable chapter in spiritual affinities.

Naturally, the paper is a warm appreciation of Maurice, with all the ardour and sympathy of a disciple. But it is more. Dr Davies not only claims for him the rôle of being the forerunner of the New Age. Turning to the High Church and its Manifesto in "*Lux Mundi*," he adds that "the lead of Maurice may be traced in every one of the Essays."

As for the Evangelical Party, he dismisses it into the obsolete. "The chief characteristic of the converted was that they had accepted the Atonement, or believed that Jesus Christ had died for them; in other words, that Jesus Christ had borne upon the Cross the punishment due to their sins, and had thus made it possible for God to forgive them." Then he goes on to say, "These doctrines may still be held and professed with their old vigour by some English Christians, perhaps by some clergymen of the Church of England; but I think it will be admitted that throughout English Christendom in general, they are either openly repudiated, or tacitly ignored, or avowed with bated breath."

Is Dr Davies competent to speak for *English Christendom*? This is a large claim, and we should like very much to know the thoroughness of the induction from which he draws such a sweeping and serious generalisation. This is the grave fault of the book.

We can notice only one other instance. It may be a debatable matter as to who are to be included in the Church, and the notes of the Church are proverbially difficult to define. But surely it is extra-judicial to say "the belief in a class of converted Christians separated by a change of nature from the fellow Christians who look so like them, has almost ceased to be a living one." May one not fairly say it is taking too great a liberty with St Paul to make him responsible for the following? "Paul nowhere gives the least hint of making a distinction in his own mind between the truly converted as constituting the body of Christ, and the other merely professing Christians as not belonging to the body."

Dr Davies, we think, confounds things that Paul held in very distinct and emphatic differentiation. On this point Broad Church Teaching represents neither "*English Christendom*" nor the Pauline Spirit. We believe that the critical, dissolving tendency, that led

Huxley to call Jowett a Disintegrator, is the furthest remove from both.

Standpoint is everything, and the appreciation of parts of this book depends on standpoint. Much of it will be welcomed everywhere as a fresh and piquant statement of modern problems of the religious life. There is verve and practical interest—and with these, the sense of things unseen, yet eternal. Of the rest, the helplessness of the Broad Church of to-day, in face of what might have been its vocation to the people of England, is the best refutation.

2. It is an easy transition from Dr Davies to Stopford Brooke. We know what to expect from this writer. He does not give us everything—he does not give us some things that we value as the best gifts of the Gospel of the Divine Christ. But he knows, as few preachers know, how to make “The statutes of the Lord songs in the house of our pilgrimage.” *The Gospel of Joy* is a book of heart culture.

Some books of discourses are sermons, but not literature; others are literature, but not sermons. This is both, but that is only saying it comes from Stopford Brooke. There are three sermons on “The Armour of God” (Rom. xiii. 12; Ephes. vi. 15-17, and vi. 18). The first is a searching exposition of the conditions involved in taking the armour—moral purity, the clean life. “There are those who know they are doing wrong, who will not let loose their sin, yet whose intellect, imagination and easy fervour run to meet a higher view of life and of religion. The downright truth about them is that unless they banish the dark thing, root it out and cast it from them, they may see the light but will not keep it; may touch it and yet turn it into corruption.” This is followed by a glowing description of “the shield of light,” “the sandals of peace,” and “the sword of the spirit.”

There is a fine illustration from “The Faerie Queen” of how Spenser concentrates the Apostle’s symbol in the shield of the Prince, who is the image of the Magnificence, that is the great doing of the Christian warrior. These illustrations, gathered from the fields Stopford Brooke knows so well, are one of the features of a fresh and telling book.

The third sermon in the series is spoken to that long drawn struggle, wherein a soldier’s heart becomes fainting and dispirited—“Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the spirit, and watching thereunto with all patience”—perseverance of fortitude. Patience, prayer, watchfulness, describe “*the temper of the soldier’s mind within his armour.*”

The Christian Race (Heb. xii. 1) is a well-worn pulpit theme, but those who have read the best sermons on the text will welcome

this one for its exegesis, and still more for its comforting, "catching," optimism. There is always a bit of "topmost blue" in life, and there are ever so many outlooks to it in this volume. This sermon is one of them. We put it alongside M. Arnold's "Rugby Chapel."

In "The heart of St Paul" it was, perhaps, natural to dwell on the emotional side of the Apostle's contribution to Christianity, yet one is not quite prepared for the somewhat too summary way in which the great *thinker* of the Christian religion is swamped in the man of feeling. "He is betrayed into using intellectual forms," and hands down "therewith a grievous heritage to the churches"; and again, "He is sick of chopping logic," and "after the long and barren speculation of ix., x. and xi. chapters of Romans, he settles the whole matter by an outburst of emotion." There seems a certain contradiction between this and an earlier statement that the letters of St Paul have exercised a mighty influence on the heart of man and beyond man's heart, on his intellect—for, indeed, some of the mightiest monuments of the work of the human mind start from these momentary letters of St Paul." Is it quite fair and judicial, therefore, or is it only a preacher's passion to be betrayed into the outburst quoted above?

Perhaps this is the place for recording the impression, that here and there in the volume the tone becomes almost strident in dealing with controverted points, and the preacher is somewhat less than fair in certain representations of orthodox theology. May it not just be barely possible that there is a bigotry of breadth as well as of narrowness? These are the only criticisms of disapproval that one feels inclined to make. For the volume is worthy of its title, and worthy of Stopford Brooke, and that is saying much.

It is not every day one meets with sermons such as "What? In Exchange for the Soul"—one of the best in the book; or that other, "Of what use is the battle"—a ringing call to Christian hope.

The volume concludes with a series on "The Kingdom of God"—Its Ideals, Its Aims, and Its Foundation. "For my part," the preacher says, "I have found nothing more excellent than the teaching of Jesus Christ, and I see nothing which even approaches it in excellence."

The last sermon—"The preaching of the Kingdom," is an ideal bit of Homiletic—sane, tender, and serious,—an almost perfect exposition of the temper of a true preacher of the Word. The subject is thus approached. "The men and women who sit below the minister, the minister himself—if we could look within upon the world of their hearts or the labour of their spirit—are for the most part tossed in storms, crying for light and peace . . . stretching forth their hands to God, or vainly longing for a sight of Him.

This is the voiceless cry which goes up Sunday after Sunday from congregated human hearts. What have we to say to it?" We find here what we miss in so many volumes on preaching—the compassion of Christ for shepherdless men, and the burden of souls.

It has been a real pleasure to read this book, and the publishers have set it forth worthily, in beautifully clear type, and in a form which it is a delight to handle.

In the third volume on our list we turn from the Preachers to the Apologists.

3. This book, as its sub-title indicates, is a series of studies on "The Divine Origin of Christianity." It does not appeal to experts, but that is not its intention. The author has in his mind the intelligent layman who, with a reverent belief in Religion, is yet seriously perplexed in giving a reason for the faith that is in him. The criticism of the New Testament has come from the study to the man in the street. At least the wind-blown echoes of it have. There is, with every disposition to believe, an uncertainty in the average man if the foundations of belief are as strong as once they were. "The Aids to Belief" is an attempt to reassure the ordinary man.

The book opens with an account of the process by which the gospels received their present form. This is given in non-technical language, with sufficient information, and is generally careful and up to date. The first chapter is the most successful in the book. But the author should not include Peter's *Epistles* among those "concerning which there is no reasonable doubt" (p. 17). Further on, indeed, he shows that he is alive to the divided state of the evidence for the second Epistle.

The next section, "On the Trustworthiness of the Gospels," is an examination of passages taken indiscriminately from the four gospels, "showing that the narratives bear clear marks of having been the testimony of eyewitnesses." This runs to nineteen pages.

One feels that Mr Langhorne has overdone this kind of thing. We are inclined to say that many of his comparisons are over refined, and too subjective to carry weight.

Ex uno disce omnes—"St Mark's account (vi. 21) of the supper 'that Herod on his birthday made to his lords, high captains and chief estates of Galilee,' is extremely graphic and circumstantial. This information was probably supplied by Joanna, the wife of Herod's steward, as she would be present helping." This is decidedly fresh, and there are others equally good; but serious criticism does not "suspend a hundredweight by a thread."

Had Mr Langhorne taken fewer examples, and made a better

use of them, in bringing to a point *criteria* of trustworthiness, one would be more grateful. But there is too much drawing of a knotless thread. The naïve remark that introduces these illustrations must be quoted. "Whether this has been done before is unknown to the present writer, who has thought that such a survey might be helpful to some at the present time."

The third chapter has the title—"The Spurious Gospels and some Remarks on Miracles."

These gospels are quoted to show "that they possess neither seriousness nor gravity," and from the quotations this is very evident. The "Remarks on the Miracles" are acute and sensible, but the criticism of Hume is so tangled and involved with irrelevances that to follow it craves wary and painful walking. The imaginary journey of the philosopher to see the wonders of the new age of steam and electricity, and under their influence to confess that there are more things in heaven and earth than he had dreamed of in his philosophy, is a spirited bit of writing!

In the remarks on Divine Inspiration there are no unsettling tendencies. Mr Langhorne professes a safe nescience. "It is like life—beyond the wit of man to define."

A general estimate of the book will have been formed. There is competent knowledge, reverence, and love of truth. But the discursive faculty is fatal. Like an amateur sportsman, Mr Langhorne has a hit at every idea as it rises. There is too much scattering.

This might have been a good book, but it wants making again and making differently.

W. M. GRANT.

Histoire du Peuple d'Israel.

Par C. Piepenbring (de Strasbourg). Strasbourg: Librairie, J. Noiriel; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. iv. 730. Price, F.8.

M. PIEPENBRING is already well-known by his admirable *Théologie de l'ancien Testament*, and, to those who read that valuable periodical, by his frequent contributions to the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. The *Théologie* is a brief but exceedingly lucid and just presentation of the Theology of the Old Testament, and in our present lack of good hand-books in English on this subject, might with advantage be more widely used by theological students than it is. An English translation appeared a year or two since in America.

With his present work M. Piepenbring enters a more crowded field; recent histories of Israel are numerous, and though English

scholars have given us none that are complete, thanks to translations from the German and the works of some American scholars, the English reader has a tolerable choice of books on this subject. With the French reader it is different, and M. Piepenbring is quite justified in claiming that his work "ne diffère pas seulement de tous les ouvrages analogues de langue française, mais qu'elle réalise aussi sur eux de notables progrès" (Preface, p. 1).

The method and standpoint of the history may be seen from a brief analysis. In an introductory chapter (pp. 1-18) the author describes the land of Palestine and the neighbours of the Israelites, and indicates his general position with regard to literary criticism and its historical significance. Throughout the work M. Piepenbring works on the basis of such critics as Wellhausen, Stade, and others of the same general standpoint, and does not devote any great space to indicating afresh the reasons for his use of his sources.

The History proper is divided into nine periods. The first of these is entitled, "The ancient Hebrews and the work of Moses" (pp. 19-60), and consists of two chapters. The first discusses the primitive religion of the Hebrews, *i.e.* the religion of the Hebrews before the time of Moses; of this we have no direct information, but it may be re-constructed in the light of subsequent survivals and the beliefs and customs of cognate peoples. M. Piepenbring here depends especially on the work of Wellhausen, Robertson Smith, Stade and Schwally. In the second chapter the significance of Moses and of the establishment of the worship of Yahwè is indicated. The second period is "the conquest of Canaan and the epoch of the judges" (pp. 61-124); the third "the ancient kingdom of Israel" (pp. 125-179); the fourth "the two kingdoms from the Disruption to the accession of Jehu" (pp. 180-270). Under this fourth period we find the first of several chapters on the literature of the Hebrews; within this period M. Piepenbring discusses (chap. xiii.) the beginnings of the literature, the Yahwist, and the primitive decalogue. The fifth period consists of "the two kingdoms down to the fall of Samaria" (pp. 271-333), and under this the literature discussed (chap. xvi.) is the Elohist Ex. xx. 22-xxiii. 33, and the classical form of the decalogue, and some ancient oracles—the blessing of Moses, the oracles of Balaam, Isaiah xv. f., the Song of Deliverance (Ex. xv. 1-17). A separate chapter (xvii.) is devoted to the prophetic writers of the eighth century. The sixth period is entitled "the sole kingdom of Judah" (pp. 334-371); the seventh "the exile" (pp. 438-510). Under the latter, in addition to a chapter on Ezekiel (xxiii.), we find another (xxiv.) dealing with various literary productions of this period—*viz.*, the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 1-42); the Lamentations, which are 'not impossibly' the work of three different authors who lived in

this period ; the first sacred collection of Jewish literature (pp. 473-480); the law of Holiness ; the Deutero-Isaiah, whose work cannot be detected with certainty, except in Isaiah xl.-xlviii. ; and some anonymous oracles (Isaiah xiii. 2—xiv. 23; xxi. 1-10 ; Obadiah). The eighth period is the Restoration (pp. 511-582). M. Piepenbring is convinced by Van Hoonacker and Meyer, as against Kusters, that the Aramaic documents contained in Ezra iv.-vii. are credible and that Cyrus actually gave the Jews permission to return to their country, and that a large number of them availed themselves of this permission (pp. 512 f.); but he considers the chronicler mistaken in making the Jews begin the rebuilding of the Temple immediately after the Return in 537 ; as a matter of fact, the rebuilding of the Temple was only begun in 520 (pp. 522 ff.). On the question of what the Law was which Ezra read to the people, M. Piepenbring is of opinion that it was, most probably, not the whole Pentateuch, but the Priestly Code, less some later additions, and probably "all the fragments of the Book of Joshua related to this Code" (p. 559). The ninth and last period of the history deals with the time from Nehemiah to Antiochus Epiphanes (pp. 583-719); for M. Piepenbring's work ends, oddly enough, just at the threshold of the Maccabean War of Independence. An account of the literature is answerable for by far the larger amount of the space (118 out of 136 pages) devoted to this last period ; we find a succession of chapters devoted to these topics—Jewish Universalism (Ruth, Jonah), Jewish Prophecy (Joel), Jewish Histiography (Chronicles), Jewish Wisdom (Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Job, Ecclesiastes), the sacred and profane songs of the Jews (Psalms, Song of Songs), Jewish apocalypse (Daniel). A concluding chapter (xl. pp. 720-726) contains some reflections on criticism and faith.

It will be clear from the foregoing summary that a great feature of the work is the full account given of the literature. As has been said before, M. Piepenbring does not discuss critical questions at great length, generally contenting himself with a brief indication of the reasons for his judgments, and with references to previous writers. The space devoted to the literature is mainly taken up with full accounts of the substance of the several books discussed.

The religion and the social morality of the people at different periods are also fully dealt with. It is on the more distinctly political side that M. Piepenbring's history is weakest. To take a single illustration. The chapter already referred to, which gives an account of what we might call the religion of the pre-historic Hebrews, is valuable ; but would not a more due sense of proportion have given us also, what we miss, a much fuller account of the country and people in which the Hebrews settled ? The comparatively slight use made of the Tel-el-amarna tablets is very noticeable and significant.

In a word, the author is much more at home with and makes much better use of the literary than of the archaeological sources for the history.

A word or two may be said on a few details not referred to in the foregoing summary. The first chapter of Nahum is considered unauthentic (p. 365). In his account of Deuteronomy M. Piepenbring adopts the theory of Steuernagel that that book may be analysed into distinct sources according as the several parts use the second person singular or plural.

M. Piepenbring argues against Renan and Vernes for the polytheism of the early Hebrews—and on strong grounds, so far as he bases his argument on the survivals of ancestor worship, the cult of stones and trees, and so forth. But the argument from the use of the name Baal in proper names is exceedingly precarious. I have referred to this subject in a recent number of this Review (vol. viii. p. 283), and therefore will not rediscuss it on the present occasion.

Why should we be troubled with the manifestly corrupt name Ramathaim-Tsophim (p. 95)? There can be little doubt that, according to the original text, 1 Sam. i., ran “a certain man of Ramathaim, a Zuphite of the hill-country of Ephraim”—see Wellhausen, Klostermann or Driver on the passage.

In conclusion, it only remains to say that though this history is marked by no very novel features and does not make—it does not claim to—any noticeable contributions to the advance of the subject, it is, within the limits already indicated, a clear and full account of the history, and especially the religious and literary history, of the Hebrews. As such it may be warmly recommended to those in search of such a hand-book.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

1. An Outline of the History of the Literature of the Old Testament.

By E. Kautzsch, Professor of Theology at the University of Halle. Translated by John Taylor, D.Lit., M.A. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xii. 251. Price, 6s. 6d.

2. History of the People of Israel.

By Carl Heinrich Cornill, Ph.D., S.T.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Königsberg. Translated by W. H. Carruth, Professor of German in the University of Kansas. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1898. 8vo, pp. 325. Price, 7s. 6d.

BOTH these works are written from the critical standpoint, and aim at popularising the results of the scientific study of the Old Testa-

ment. They are both written with great fulness of knowledge, in a very lucid manner, and in a spirit worthy of their subject. It is frequently no easy matter to turn the German of theological professors into good English, but Messrs Taylor and Carruth have succeeded admirably. Now and again the latter uses expressions and phrases that are hardly English; but these occasional blemishes detract but little from the value of his excellent translation.

1. Professor Kautzsch's *Outline* differs entirely, so far as regards method, from the usual works on Introduction. Instead of discussing the Books of the Old Testament in the order in which they are found in the Hebrew Bible, it treats of the various fragments and larger sources in what is supposed to be their historical origin and succession. The history of the literature of the Old Testament is divided into six periods. The first of these is the "Pre-monarchic Period," to which belong such "relics of ancient popular poetry" as the Book of the Wars of Jahveh, the Song of Lamech, the Song of Deborah, &c.; but "while nothing can be said against the idea of Moses having written some documents, we must not hope to be able to designate any we possess as certainly Mosaic in their phraseology." This, however, does not preclude the existence of many historical reminiscences in the traditions that deal with Moses and his work. The second period is that of the undivided Monarchy, during which we have David's Elegies on Saul and Abner, possibly also some genuinely Davidic Psalms, or at least fragments of such; Nathan's Parable in 2 Sam. xii. 1-4, and Solomon's speech at the dedication of the Temple, 1 Kings viii. 12 f. The conditions for the rise of a real literature must have existed in abundance under David, to say nothing of Solomon; and we possess a number of monuments, such as the "Blessing of Jacob" (Gen. xlix. 1-27), and the original form of the Balaam-Discourses (Num. xxiii. 7—xxiv. 19), against the placing of which, at least as early as Solomon's time, no valid objection can be brought. The sections dealing with the other four periods give a clear and interesting account of the various historical and legal sources, as well as of the prophetic and poetical Books, and the monuments of the Wisdom literature.

Professor Kautzsch's interest is not confined to purely critical questions. He ever bears in mind that the literature, of which he is writing the history, is distinctively religious; and he frequently characterises a writer or discusses the contents and problem of a book in a manner that makes us wish that he had written his *Outline* on a much larger scale. His reasoning is certainly not always convincing; those who desire to study Old Testament criticism must still have recourse to books that follow a different method; but as an introduction to such study and as a brief summing up of the generally admitted results of patient investigation, his treatise

leaves hardly anything to be desired. Its value is greatly enhanced by several appendices:—I. Chronological tables for the history of the Israelites from Moses to the end of the second century B.C.; II. Measures and weights, money, computation of time in the Old Testament; III. List of Old Testament proper names, accompanied with an exact transliteration of their Hebrew forms; IV. Survey of the composition from different documents of several Books of the Old Testament. There is also a very full Index.

2. Professor Cornill's work, which is written for "lay readers," sketches the history of Israel from the earliest times to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. In his introductory chapter he seeks first of all to interest his readers in his subject—"Israel gave the world the true God and the true religion." Strictly speaking, the history of Israel begins with the Exodus from Egypt, and for centuries after that event our only sources of information are traditions committed to writing at a somewhat late date. Moreover, "the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament do not claim to be history, but books of devotion." Nevertheless, the traditions of Israel regarding its early history, though poetic legends have woven about them a misty magic veil which charms the eye and captivates the heart, are thoroughly historical in all essential points, and can sustain the keenest and most searching criticism. Abraham is an historical personage, and between 1550 and 1500 B.C. led a colony of Semites from Mesopotamia to Canaan; but Ishmael and Edom, Israel and Joseph, &c., are only personifications of the races or tribes whose names they bear. In course of time the "sons of Jacob" went to Egypt, where from free nomads they became Egyptian serfs. A liberator was raised up in the person of Moses, one of themselves. In the course of their flight to the desert of Arabia, they were overtaken by a troop of Egyptian scouts; but a mighty north-east wind laid dry the shallow strait of Suez that barred their progress, and they went through on the bottom of the sea into freedom. The pursuing Egyptians were surprised by the returning waters, and Israel was saved. "This overwhelming moment created the people of Israel." This bald summary does great injustice to Professor Cornill; for the spirit in which he writes is not the spirit of denial, and he is even eager to find history in traditions which others might be disposed to set aside as mere poetic legends.

In chapters i. to v. he narrates the history of Israel down to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans; in chapters vi. to x. down to the war in Judea, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. The whole story is told very vividly. Constant reference is made to the history of the various nations

with whom Israel was from time to time brought into contact, and the author evidently delights in pronouncing generous judgments upon the heroes of the Hebrew race. He has written a History of Israel which, though much too external to be altogether satisfactory, may be read with profit by others besides "lay readers."

DAVID EATON.

A Manual of Psychology.

By G. F. Stout. (The University Tutorial Series.) London: W. B. Clive, 1898. Vol. I. Pp. xii. 240. Price, 4s. 6d.

THE publisher of that useful collection, *The University Tutorial Series*, may be congratulated on the arrangements he has made for his section of "Mental and Moral Science." In the other sections of the series most of the writers' names are better known in the world of education than in the world of letters. But Mr Welton, the author of the *Manual of Logic*, and Professor J. S. Mackenzie, the author of the *Manual of Ethics*, are writers of high philosophical reputation; and now the *Manual of Psychology*, which completes the set, is from the pen of perhaps the most distinguished of English psychologists, Mr G. F. Stout of Aberdeen, who has just been appointed to the newly established Wilde Readership of Psychology at Oxford.

It will be within the recollection of those interested in the subject that in Mr Stout's remarkable work on Analytic Psychology, published three years ago, the author said that he reserved the problems of Genetic Psychology for further consideration. The "Analytic Psychology" was concerned with the analysis of the human mind in its developed form, as it stands revealed, primarily, to introspection. Such an analysis, the author held, was necessary to pave the approach to those questions of genesis which formed for him the most attractive side of the subject. Now, the interest of the Manual before us, which at first sight would seem to concern mainly those examination students and teachers for whose wants it is primarily intended, lies in the fact that it treats Psychology from the genetic point of view. It will doubtless, when completed, contain in outline those views of the ideal construction of self and the world which will be developed at length at some future time.

Unfortunately for the critic, only the first volume of the Manual is at present before us; and of this volume half is devoted to Sensation, a subject in which the author relies largely on the conclusions formulated by his predecessors. Subjects like perception, attention and volition, which are likely to be more characteristically treated, are held over for the second volume.

The chapter in the present volume which will interest those engaged rather in the study of psychology than in the teaching of it is that entitled "Body and Mind." In it the author takes up the problem of the relation of nervous process to conscious process. The conclusion he adopts is in strong opposition to the tendency so common among contemporary psychologists to regard nervous process as the dominating factor. There are, he says, three possible hypotheses, that mind is a function of matter, that mind and matter interact, and, finally, the doctrine of psycho-physical parallelism which he himself adopts. The first hypothesis, which is that of materialism, Mr Stout decisively rejects. "Whatever plausibility it possesses arises from the use, or rather from the misuse, of the word *function*. . . . When we say that breathing is a function of the lungs, we mean that breathing is the lungs at work. . . . But the process of consciousness cannot be analysed or resolved into such processes as chemical and physical changes in nerve cells."

The hypothesis of interaction is that, of course, which ordinary people adopt in ordinary life. The family doctor is wont to lay it down that the mind acts upon the body nearly as much as the body acts upon the mind. It is a hypothesis, however, which Mr Stout on the whole rejects. The main objection to it, he says, "is that the kind of interaction pre-supposed is utterly incongruous with the conception of causation on which the whole system of our knowledge both of physical and psychical processes is based." In fact, we cannot understand how causation jumps over the absolute gulf which seems to lie between the physical and psychical worlds. Here the critic must question parenthetically the soundness of the argument. If the gulf between the two worlds is absolute, of course causation cannot jump it. But how do you know that it is absolute? Have we not here a touch of metaphysical dogmatism?

Mr Stout's own solution is that of psycho-physical parallelism, *i.e.* the two streams of causation, physical and psychical, are regarded as flowing side by side, each without effect upon the other. The question then arises: How is it that in experience they are correlated so exactly? For this question the author offers the following answer: Just as the material brain forms an integral piece of the great material world, so also may the individual consciousness be thought to form part of a great immaterial system. Now, the material or phenomenal world as a whole can claim no substantive existence. It must be *phenomenon* to something, and that something can only be the world-mind or great immaterial system. Here we have the explanation of psycho-physical parallelism. The individual mind does not act directly upon matter. It acts upon the world-mind and this

acts upon individual matter. Hence the parallelism in our experience.

This is an interesting theory, and though it does not seem to have a decisive advantage over the interaction theory, we look forward to seeing it developed in a larger work. In any case, it will give a useful exercise in high philosophic thinking to the London University students who will use this Manual.

HENRY STURT.

The Kenotic Theory

Considered with Particular Reference to its Anglican Forms and Arguments, by the Rev. Francis J. Hall, D.D., Instructor of Dogmatic Theology in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois. New York, London, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 247. Price, 5s.

THE importance of this book must not be judged from its size. Many a larger treatise lacks the note of distinction so evident here. Really this book is a patient, scholarlike, and judicial examination of the most pressing problem of present day Christology. Dr Hall, already favourably known by his three volumes of *Theological Outlines*, will add to his reputation by his *Kenotic Theory*. The book is a fine study in dogmatic method.

It was inevitable that the Problem of Kenosis should come to the front. The problem was in the direct line of doctrinal evolution. During the first four centuries of our era, that is to say, the questions pertaining to the two natures of our Lord, divine and human, were confronted by the great thinkers of Christendom, and were settled as well as discussed. From the fourth century to the seventh, broadly speaking, the problem of the unipersonality of the two natures was confronted, discussed and settled. Next, in logical as well as chronological order, the doctrine of the mode of union of the two natures, just touched by Peter Lombard, was started and carried forward by the Reformation controversies concerning the Lord's Supper. The same question concerning the mode of union of the two natures has recently been again discussed with much industry, insight, and, alas, diversity; nor can the relative problem be in any sense said to be settled. And all this has been in due logical sequence. Is our Lord Jesus Christ at once perfect God and true man? This is the first crucial point for Christology. Again, if Jesus is at once divine and human, is He both a divine person and a human person, or has He these two natures in one personality? This is the next crucial question for Christology. Yet again, if in the Lord Jesus there are at once a divine nature

and a human nature in one person, is it possible to probe further into the mode of union of the two natures? This is the next inevitable question for Christology. And just here comes in the Problem of Kenosis.

Until quite recently, however, the Kenotic problem scarcely touched our English life. It was, I think, Dr A. B. Bruce's justly admired Cunningham Lecture of 1875, *The Humiliation of Christ*, which introduced into our current British theology the Kenotic theories of Germany. Then these theories seemed exotic, the flowers of a foreign clime of thought. The special forms of the Kenotic theory, so admirably arranged by Dr Bruce under four types—of Thomasius, and of Gess, and of Ebrard, and of Martensen—were all associated with great Lutheran questions, and with the Lutheran development of Christology. Therefore, clearly as these several classes of Kenotic views were handled, they were rather of academic than of general importance. Useful and interesting as they might appear in the class-room, they did not seem likely to cause much mental trouble in practical pastoral life.

Now all is different. The problem of Kenosis agitates the English-speaking and the French-speaking lands, as well as Germany. Leaders like De Pressensé and Bonifas, Frédéric Godet and Gretillat, have adopted a Kenotic theory: so have Bushnell and Ward Beecher and Howard Crosby; so have Principal A. M. Fairbairn and Principal Edwards. The latest work of Principal Simon, *Reconciliation by Incarnation*, advocates a Kenotic theory. Thus the controversy has passed from the Schools to the Churches, and has become burning. Largely, too, because of the attempt of the *Lux Mundi* School to acclimatise in the Episcopal Church of England the extremer opinions of Old Testament critics, the Problem of Kenosis has more especially become a burning question in the Anglican Communion. Were such critical opinions compatible with the authority of our blessed Lord? The question was bound to be asked. When, therefore, Canon Gore was compelled, in defence of his positions, to say, "He, the very God, habitually spoke, in His incarnate life on earth, under the limitations of a properly human consciousness"; and when Professor Kirkpatrick wrote, with regard to New Testament references to the Law of Moses, and the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, "it is not, I believe, contrary to the catholic doctrine of our Lord's person to suppose that in such matters His knowledge was the knowledge of His time," and when Dr Plummer argued "it is at least conceivable that Jesus so emptied Himself of the attributes of His divinity, as to be dependent for knowledge upon His earthly experience and the information He received from others"—when such utterances were made by such men, the Problem of Kenosis could not but

become a burning question in Episcopalian circles. For Bishop Ellicott to ask, in his *Christus Comprobator*, "Was the limitation of our Lord's humanity, and the degree of what is technically called His Kenosis, of such a nature that His knowledge in regard to the authorship and composition of the Books of the Old Testament was no greater than that of the masters of Israel of His own time?" was but to voice what had become an inevitable question. The large works, so recently published, of Gore (*Dissertation on Subjects Connected with the Incarnation*), of Ottley (*The Doctrine of the Incarnation*), and of Powell (*The Principle of the Incarnation, with Especial Reference to the Relation between Our Lord's Divine Omniscience and His Human Consciousness*), and smaller works like Mason's *Conditions of Our Lord's Life on Earth*, and Gifford's *Incarnation, a Study of Philippians ii. 5-11*, so justly applauded for its exegetical tact and ability, testify to the agitation amongst Anglicans. Usefully, then, while all forms of Kenoticism are considered by Dr Hall, it is to this Episcopalian phase of Kenosis that he pays special attention.

There are many Kenotic theories, some irreconcilable with the great Christological creeds, and some, it is thought, tenable together with these catholic statements. Dr Hall, therefore, defines his subject as follows:—"The Kenotic theory may be briefly described as maintaining that the Divine Logos, in order to take our nature upon Him and submit in reality to its earthly conditions and limitations, abandoned somewhat at least of what was His before He became incarnate: in particular, it is alleged most commonly, that He abandoned what Kenoticists call His relative or His metaphysical attributes of omnipotence, omnipresence and omniscience, so as to be dependent upon the aid of the Spirit, wholly circumscribed by space, and deprived of knowledge." More briefly, "the modern Kenotic theory in all its forms is to be distinguished by the idea that when the Divine Logos took our nature, He abandoned something which He possessed before the incarnation."

Such being his definition of Kenosis, Dr Hall states the aim of his book to be to convict this theory of being modern, inconsistent with truth, inharmonious with the Bible and catholic consent, illogical, and dangerous. "In this book an effort is made to show that the theory in question is (a) a modern novelty; (b) contrary to the faith of the Church; (c) rejected deliberately by catholic doctors; (d) not warranted by the fact contained in the Gospels, or the statements of Holy Scripture; (e) fallacious in its reasoning; and (f) perilous in its logical results."

In striving after these results, Dr Hall pursues the following method. By way of introduction an account is given of the origin and development of the Kenotic theory; next an attempt is made

to exhibit the catholic doctrine of the Incarnation and its bearing on the truth of our Lord's self-sacrifice; next the Kenotic theory itself is considered, the arguments by which it is supported being examined in detail; next the contention is carefully weighed that our Lord was bereft of Divine omniscience during His earthly life; and finally, some of the more serious issues at stake are sharply formulated.

In the chapter on Historical Introduction, three aspects are presented. The general patristic opinion is shown to be adverse to Kenoticism. Then follows a clear statement of the modern and Lutheran origin of the theory. Following upon this general historical survey, the appearance of Kenoticism in Anglican literature is illustrated.

In the chapter on the Incarnation, the main features of the doctrine emphasised are, that the purpose of the Incarnation was twofold—to reveal and to redeem; and that both purposes require the concurrence of Divine power and knowledge with human limitations in the Person of the Incarnate. The point is striking and is strikingly put. A valuable statement follows of the catholic doctrines, both of the hypostatic union of the two natures in Jesus, and of the *communicatio idiomatum*, or predication of all the properties and operations of our Lord's two natures to His undivided Person; and consequent upon this doctrinal statement the corollary is insisted on that our Lord possessed, during His humiliation, two wills and two operations, two powers and two orders of knowledge.

In the next chapter, on the Humiliation of Christ, perhaps the most striking, as well as the freshest consideration of the whole question, is given. The Incarnation involved, it is said, a condescension and humiliation of the Divine Word, and this humiliation is described in the New Testament under the figures of self-sacrifice, of impoverishment, and of Kenosis. Now the idea of self-sacrifice, it is argued, a sacrifice which is to avail for all men, places, and times, demands that when Jesus offered Himself upon the cross, He should not be bereft of those Divine attributes which signify the world-wide power of His Person and its capacity for efficacious contact with all conditions and all times. Upon the second figure of impoverishment little is said. But upon the figure of Kenosis, and upon the crucial passage in Philippians, whence the term has sprung, there is much of supreme interest. The interpretation of the passage for which Dr Hall contends, is paraphrased thus: "subsisting all along in the essence of God, He did not think that His state of equality with God was a thing which needed to be grasped anxiously, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, &c." But Dr Hall makes an important point here. The context, he says, suggests a metaphorical

interpretation of the *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν*. Paul could hardly have introduced, it is argued, an assertion that Christ emptied Himself of His being on an equality with God with language which implied that Christ regarded His being on an equality with God as inalienable. Moreover, the lesson which the example of Christ is here given to confirm is, not one of abandonment of anything at all, but an example of freedom from absorption in one's own things, and of thoughtfulness for the things of others. Besides, the clauses which follow—"taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men"—are epexegetical, and limit the meaning of *ἐκένωσε*, according to Greek idiom. St Paul, therefore, cannot have meant more by the phrase, "emptied Himself," than is signified by the phrase, "taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men." *St Paul was not asserting a literal self-emptying on our Lord's part, but a metaphorical Kenosis.* To substantiate the point, Dr Hall shows that the Pauline usage of *κενόω* is always metaphorical. The whole exegetical discussion is as able in its way as that remarkable piece of exegetical work given in Dr Gifford's study of the same passage in his *Incarnation*.

The chapter entitled Appeal to Catholic Antiquity is an examination of Canon Gore's statements relative thereto. Nor does the best of the argument lie with the Canon. Ottley's statement of the moral necessity for Kenosis comes next under review, and subsequently, in successive chapters, the arguments for Kenosis drawn from the moral development of Jesus, from the distinction between the essential and the relative attributes of God, and from the limitations of knowledge ascribed in the New Testament to Jesus. Finally, a formidable catalogue of the serious issues involved in any Kenotic theory is drawn up.

From such a survey the completeness of Dr Hall's method may be inferred, although no sufficient insight in so brief a review can be given into his constant alertness, his scholarlike preparedness, and his entire freedom from the remarks that may wound.

The attractiveness of some theory of Kenosis most thinkers feel. Alas, there are formidable difficulties in the way both of a belief and of a disbelief in any Kenotic theory. For instance, is a denudation of Divine attributes, such as any form of the Kenotic theory demands, even a Self-denudation on the part of the Eternal Logos, otherwise than illogical? If by the attributes of God are meant His unchangeable characteristics, how can inseparable characteristics become separable? Whatever can be separated from Deity straightway declares itself an accident, and not an attribute. If Jesus is God and man, must He not possess all the attributes of both God and man? On the other hand, Jesus grew in wisdom and in stature; He is stated in the Gospels to have been surprised and to have wondered; many things

He came to know by personal observation, and many things by means of the information conveyed to Him by others; often He deliberately sought information by putting questions; by sinless growth—in human ways—He became perfect; His was especially a life in the Holy Ghost. This is the other side of the problem. Such facts predispose to the acceptance of some form of the Kenotic theory. But, after all, is there anything in this human growth and human limitation of knowledge in any way inconsistent with our Lord being perfect God as well as true man? What will our own life be in the heavenly regions? Will it not probably be a ceaseless growth in new experience, whilst retaining mortal memory and mortal knowledge, a new will and an old will, a new knowledge and an old knowledge, a new emotion and an old emotion, a new consciousness and an old consciousness? Suppose an angel to become incarnate, is there any necessity to suppose the angelic mind to be lost, because the new human experience is developing from day to day? Can we not conceive, therefore, however dimly and insufficiently, that the Eternal Word, whilst retaining all Divine attributes and all Divine experiences, may also adopt human attributes, and gain all human experiences. The Divine consciousness, be it said with all reverence, is not yet the human consciousness; nor in attaining the human consciousness is the Divine consciousness necessarily surrendered. Perhaps Dr Hall's book may suggest to many that the tide of catholic Christology which has been ebbing awhile during this Kenotic phase, is beginning to flow again. ALFRED CAVE.

The Gospel according to St Mark.

The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Hon. Litt.D., Dublin, Regius Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898. 8vo, pp. cix. 412. Price, 15s.

The First Epistle of St Peter i. 1—ii. 17.

The Greek Text with Introductory Lecture, Commentary, and Additional Notes. By the late F. J. A. Hort, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., sometime Hulsean Professor and Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity in the University of Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898. 8vo, pp. xvi. 188. Price, 6s.

THESE two volumes are important additions to English literature on the New Testament. They are welcome for their own merits. They are the more welcome that they grapple with the problems of two books of the New Testament which are of very peculiar interest, and

on which there remains much to be said yet. The smaller of the two is of exceptional value, and is in all respects worthy of the eminent man who did so much to bring honour to English scholarship, and whose loss is still deplored by students all the world over. The larger is also a performance of unquestionable merit, planned and executed in the sound, sober, careful English way, without pretence, free of all showy cleverness and specious theorising.

Comparatively little has been done for St Mark's Gospel by English scholars. It is singular that it is so. If there is one of the Gospels that, as things stand, demands attention beyond others, it is the second. And it will repay all the study which is given it. Its features are so interesting and its character is so distinctive. It has problems of its own, which lie at the foundations of the Synoptic question and the whole discussion of the origin of the Gospels. Dr Swete is aware that he has a peculiarly difficult task. But he knows also that he has a singularly attractive subject. He speaks well of the importance of Mark's work as "an independent history," and of "the beauty of its bright and unartificial picture of our Lord's life in Galilee." He says justly that the "briefest of the Gospels is in some respects the fullest and the most exacting; the simplest of the books of the New Testament brings us nearest to the feet of the Master." He starts with a large idea of the interpreter's office, and his work shows that there are behind it years of laborious and faithful preparation. His object has been to help others to understand "this primitive picture of the Incarnate Life." And, if he leaves much yet to do, he has made a contribution to the study of St Mark which renders us his debtors. It is the best commentary which English scholarship has yet produced on this Gospel.

The first two chapters of the Introduction deal with the personal history of Mark and the early history of the Gospel. They are excellent summaries, and bring together in a clear and succinct form all the points that are of importance. There are several things to notice here. There is, *e.g.*, the case of Mark's refusal to accompany Paul beyond Perga. Professor Swete finds some justification for Mark's conduct at this juncture in the fact that he was not sent to the work by the Spirit or by the Church, as Barnabas and Saul had been, and in the idea that the change of plan left him free to return. "He had left Jerusalem," says Professor Swete, "for work in Antioch, and had not engaged himself to face the dangers of a campaign in Central Asia Minor (2 Cor. xi. 26); and he may have felt that his duty to his mother and his home required him to break off at this point from so perilous a development of the mission." In this Professor Swete agrees generally with Professor Ramsay, though he does not mix up the apology with other speculations about the occasion of Paul's

decision to quit the sea-coast and strike across the Taurus. It is perhaps the best that can be said, but it is doubtful whether it meets the case as it is put in the pungent narrative of Acts. Another explanation which Professor Swete offers refers to the long space of silence in Mark's story. He attaches considerable importance to the tradition which connects the evangelist with the Alexandrian Church, and he thinks it throws light on "the long interval between Mark's separation from St Paul and his reappearance in St Paul's company at Rome." But this depends upon a series of somewhat uncertain suppositions. We must assume, first, that the tradition is true, and consequently that Mark was the founder of the Church in Alexandria; secondly, that the date which Eusebius gives for the appointment of Mark's successor there is at least approximately correct; and thirdly, that this date, viz. the eighth year of Nero's reign (A.D. 61-62), is the date of Mark's departure from Alexandria.

Much attention is given to the question of Mark's association with Peter. Professor Swete sees no difficulty in accepting the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter. In this we think him undoubtedly right. He sees no force in the arguments used by Professor M'Giffert in his able *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* for assigning the Epistle to Barnabas. Neither can he accept Professor Blass's statement that Mark may have gone from Antioch to Babylon shortly after A.D. 46. He agrees with those who take the *Babylon* of 1 Peter v. 13 to be a cryptogram for Rome, and he repeats the arguments, far from conclusive as they are, which are usually employed in support of that interpretation. He finds distinct testimony, therefore, in the Epistle itself to the fact that Mark was with Peter in Rome. He also holds the tradition to be probably true which speaks of Peter as suffering martyrdom in Rome in Nero's time. But he does not accept it in its completeness. The tradition represents Peter as suffering together with Paul; and Harnack holds by that, especially on the ground of Clement's statement (1 Cor. 6). Professor Swete, however, does not think that the "testimony of a bishop who lived in the latter half of the second century as regards matters of fact which belong to the history of the first" is invulnerable or should be taken very rigorously. He goes with Lightfoot, therefore, in dissociating the two martyrdoms. Only while Lightfoot placed Peter's death in A.D. 64, and Paul's in 67, Professor Swete thinks it "open to consideration whether St Paul's was not the earlier." It is hazardous work to cut and carve in this way on a tradition which makes a consistent whole and which is pronounced by Professor Swete himself to be "constant and probably true." His object, however, is to find time for ministrations on the part of Mark to

Peter in Rome. And he makes this out very fairly. He gives good reasons for considering 1 Peter to have been written after Paul's death, and while hesitating to carry the year of Peter's decease so far forward as Professor Ramsay does in his *The Church and the Empire*, he points out that, even if we do not push it beyond A.D. 70, we have still a "considerable interval during which Mark may have ministered to St Peter at Rome." With respect to Papias's report of the presbyter's description of Mark as the ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, Professor Swete takes the sense to be that Mark acted as the "secretary or dragoman who translates his master's words into a foreign language"; a kind of service which Mark could well do to an Aramaic-speaking Jew, as he was himself a resident in Jerusalem, familiar with Aramaic, and a Jew of Hellenic descent on one side. He brings out also, briefly and clearly, how Mark's Gospel in its general scope corresponds in a remarkable way with the presbyter's description of Mark's work as a record of Peter's teaching or preaching limited to reminiscences of things said or done by Christ.

Other questions belonging to the literary history of the Gospel are dealt with in a careful and sober fashion. The general attitude to these questions is conservative. As to the *date* of the Gospel, the witness of Irenaeus is preferred to that of the Alexandrians. The decease of Peter being accepted as the *terminus a quo*, the *terminus ad quem* is fixed at 70 A.D. The tradition given by Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 14) and Jerome (*De vir. ill.*), which makes Peter take up his residence in Rome in the second year of Claudius, therefore, is discarded. Jerome's date for Mark's death (the 8th year of Nero) is also rejected, and that of the Paschal Chronicle, which places it in Trajan's reign, is held to be more probable. It is thought, however, that the Alexandrian tradition suggests an earlier time, as the "request for a written record of St Peter's teaching would naturally be made soon after the apostle's death, while the Church was still keenly conscious of its loss." These things, taken in connexion with the character of the Gospel itself—"the freshness of its colouring, the simplicity of its teaching, the absence of any indication that Jerusalem had already fallen when it was written," are held to point to a date "earlier than the summer of A.D. 70." As to the original language of the Gospel, Professor Swete stands decidedly for Greek, and combats strongly the theory of an Aramaic original. He shows very well how inconclusive Professor Blass's arguments are in support of this Aramaic original—those taken from the analogy of the first part of Acts and from the textual condition of Mark. But his strongest argument against that theory is derived from the peculiarities of Mark's language and style, which bear all the tokens of the individuality of the writer,

and preclude the supposition that the Greek Gospel which we have is a mere translation of an Aramaic work.

One looks naturally with much interest to the account which is given of the sources of the Gospel and its relations to Matthew and Luke. The Synoptic problem itself, however, is not formally discussed. We have nothing more than occasional hints of the writer's views on the subject. But it is otherwise with the problems of the sources and the unity. Professor Swete expresses the strong sense that has grown upon him of the unity of the book, and he sees no need of the theory of an *Urmarkus*. He reserves his judgment on the question of the nature and the extent of the editorial revision to which the original Gospel has been subjected. He holds the main source to have been the teaching of Peter, to which he would assign almost the whole narrative of the Galilean ministry. He believes the rest of the book to have been largely influenced by the same teaching. But he is of opinion that other sources must be recognised occasionally, and, in particular, that in the last six chapters other authorities may have been used, "some at least documentary, which had been familiar to the Evangelist before he left the Holy City." This appears to us to be on the whole the most reasonable explanation of the facts.

The sections, however, in which we see Professor Swete at his best are those which deal with matters of language, grammar, and text. He provides us with a valuable analysis of Mark's vocabulary, showing the words which are peculiar to Mark, those that are peculiar to him and one or both of the other Synoptists, those that occur only in Mark and John's Gospel, in Mark and the Catholic Epistles, in Mark and the Pauline writings, etc. We get also an admirable view of Mark's style and a very useful statement of his peculiarities in construction. For all this we owe much to this commentary. All matters of textual criticism, too, are handled with scientific precision and fulness of knowledge. The case of the disputed close of the Gospel is put with much ability. The paragraph is judged to be distinct in structure and general purpose from the genuine work of Mark. It is declared to be didactic rather than historical in object, and to be Johannine rather than Marcan in tone. It is held to belong to another work, whether that of Aristion or of some unknown writer of the first century. Mr Conybeare's suggestion that the writer is the Aristion who is mentioned by Papias as one of the Lord's disciples is regarded as having "much probability." Other difficulties of a textual kind are handled with like ability. We do not see, however, why Professor Swete should regard the opening verse as probably not a part of the original work. One might say the same of the whole paragraph with which the Gospel opens, or for

that matter, the whole chapter. The documentary evidence is substantially the same in each case, and the internal considerations are much too indeterminate.

The exegetical notes are, as a general rule, satisfactory. They are always both full and exact in matters of language and grammar. They are particularly helpful in the use which they make of the Septuagint in illustrating and explaining Mark's Greek. This is one of the features of Professor Swete's work. The exegesis is less satisfactory as an interpretation of the *ideas* of the Gospel. It gives too little space to such questions as those relating to the use of the title *Son of Man*, demoniac possession, the doctrine of Satan and evil spirits, the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, the limitations of Christ's knowledge, etc. On the last mentioned question, as it is raised by our Lord's declared ignorance of the day or hour of His coming, Professor Swete has little to say but this—"As the Eternal Word He cannot be ignorant of this or any other mystery of the Divine Will (Matt. xi. 27, John i. 18). But the time of the predestined end is one of those things which the Father has 'set within His own authority' (Acts i. 7), and which the Son, though He knew it as God, had no commission to reveal (John viii. 26, 40; xiv. 24; xv. 15)." After the earnest and searching consideration that has been given to the problems of Christology in these days, few theologians surely will be found to suppose that the question is answered by saying that our Lord knew that day, but simply had *no commission* to reveal it, and so spoke as if He knew it not. It is the more surprising that Professor Swete should content himself with this, as he sees how definite our Lord's words are, how exclusive the phrase οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός is, and how absolute the contrast is made between 'the Father' and 'the Son' in this matter.

There are many things in the exegesis on which we are tempted to linger. Accepting the reading ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ, as one must do, in chap. i. 2, Professor Swete explains the difficulty of the double quotation, from Malachi and Isaiah, by supposing that Mark, or the authority from which he drew at this point, "may have depended upon a collection of excerpts in which Mal. iii. 1 stood immediately before Isa. xl. 3, possibly on a leaf headed ΗΣΑΙΑΣ." The connexion of the first four verses, however, which is a matter of some interest, is not adequately dealt with. All that is said is that the apodosis of the *καθως* clause is wanting, unless it is found in verse 4. It would have been well to give the simple and reasonable arrangement suggested by Hort. A number of passages in different parts of the Gospel, but especially in the earlier chapters, might easily be referred to, in which the exegesis lacks something. The force of the expression, ὁ βαπτίζων, e.g., in i. 4 is missed. The

problems of John's Baptism (in its specific nature and its historical relations) and our Lord's Temptation are barely touched. The *unroofing* in the incident of the paralytic (ii. 4) is explained in a way that does scant justice to the strong and expressive phrase ἐξορύξαντες. The student will certainly look for more than he gets on such declarations as the ἐνοχός ἐστὶν αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος (as regards the *ideas*), and on such critical questions as the relation in which the miracles of the 5000 and the 4000 stand to each other.

But there are also many passages of a different kind. The expositions of the miracles are among the best things in the volume. They are, as a general rule, full, exact and helpful. The difficult parable which is peculiar to Mark is also admirably interpreted. The title which Professor Swete gives it, the "Parable of the automatic action of the Soil," indicates the view he takes of it, and it is the right view. All that is said of Herod's state of mind and of his action in the case of the Baptist, especially in bringing out the force of the συνετήρει, ἡπόρει, etc. (vi. 20, etc.), is to the point. The difficulties connected with the mention of Abiathar (ii. 26), the designation 'sons of thunder,' and the topography of the incident of the destruction of the swine (v. 1, etc.), are very well handled. The puzzling reading, τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ (for αὐτῆς) τῆς Ηρωδιάδος (vi. 22), is disposed of with laudable caution. This reading, to which some importance is attached by Westcott and Hort, and which would make the girl Herod's own daughter, "can scarcely be anything," says Professor Swete, "but an error, even if a primitive error." Among other paragraphs in which Professor Swete's exegesis is seen at its best, we may refer to those on fasting (ii. 18, etc.), the new patch on the old garment (ii. 21), the choice of the twelve (iii. 1, etc.), the widow and the treasury (xii. 41, etc.), etc.

The commentary leaves something yet to do, both in criticism and in the interpretation of the *thought* of Gospel. But it is an advance on previous English books on the subject. It is particularly useful on all linguistic matters, and has good and serviceable qualities which will make it a valuable help to the English student.

With respect to the late Professor Hort's posthumous volume on *First Peter*, the first feeling with which one approaches it is that of keen regret that it is not more than it is. It forms a small section of a large undertaking—a commentary on the New Testament that was to have been the joint production of Messrs Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort, and of which Dr Hort's share was the Synoptic Gospels, the book of Acts, and the Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude. And it is but a part even of the one Epistle, extending only to chap. ii. 17. But, fragmentary as it is, all New Testament scholars will be grateful for it and debtors to it. It has all the

choice qualities of Dr Hort's work. In the preface which he contributes to the volume, the Bishop of Durham speaks of the characteristics of Dr Hort's work as an interpreter. He names first among them "his remarkable power of setting aside all traditional opinions in examining the text before him," and to this he adds his historical insight, his unwearied thoroughness, and his constant endeavour to "show through Apostolic teaching the coherence of all revelation and life." He means, as he explains, that "the dominant interest of Dr Hort in interpretation was not philological or historical, but theological." No one is better entitled to characterise Dr Hort's interests and methods than his life-long friend and fellow-worker. And the qualities which he pronounces most distinctive of Dr Hort as an exegete are conspicuous in this study of First Peter. The inquiries that belong to the philologist and grammarian are prosecuted with a master hand. The independence and the historical insight to which Bishop Westcott refers meet us on every page. But these and all other gifts and lines of inquiry are made to contribute to the higher purpose of interpreting the ideas of the book, and giving us to understand its spiritual truths as these belonged to the writer's own experience and teaching. In this Dr Hort's exegetical work stands first among English books on the New Testament. He is not only the scholar, but the philosopher and the theologian.

In all, however, the historical instinct and the critical faculty are the controlling powers. And in this Epistle these gifts have ample scope. It is of importance to see not only what the results are which Dr Hort reached on the well-known problems of this Epistle, but how he came to them. His discussion of the time and circumstances of composition, brief as it is, gives us an instructive example of his combined keenness and caution. The one thing that he thinks appears clear, is that this Epistle was written "during a time of rising persecution to men suffering under it," a persecution which appears to have been wide enough to cover a large part of Asia Minor. In attempting to determine what persecution this must have been, he begins by reminding us of how very limited our knowledge of any of these early persecutions is. But looking at the possibility that the one in view here may have been one of the great persecutions referred to in history, he examines the arguments which are urged in support of a later case than that under Nero. He admits, of course, that the little we know of the Neronian persecution connects it only with Rome. But he points out that the Apocalypse of St John, which he thinks may be placed not long after Nero's death, shows there were persecutions in Asia Minor, "on a wide scale and under the authority of the central power"; and further, he holds it probable that what was "begun

at Rome in connexion with the fire spread through the provinces." With respect to the argument that the name *Christian*, under which men are represented as suffering, is of late date, and that the prohibition of Christianity by law was unknown before Trajan, he expresses the opinion that Pliny's letter really implies that before his time it was illegal to be a Christian *eo nomine* and points to a previous enactment associated with a great persecution, and one like the Neronic rather than that under Domitian. But, apart from this, he finds nothing in the Epistle itself to make it necessary to suppose that at the time when it was written it was already illegal to be a Christian. Nothing more need be meant than that the Christian name was liable to "give rise to contumely and ill usage," which might well happen through "popular suspiciousness and mal-evidence," especially if it was the policy of the Jews to "stir up the heathen against the Christians." The result is that two conclusions present themselves as meeting the case, viz., either (1) that the persecution in question was that under Nero or a secondary one rising out of it, or (2) that Asia Minor had a persecution or persecutions of its own independent of any "bearing an emperor's name." Of these two alternatives the second is favoured, he thinks, by the terms in which the Epistle speaks of the emperor (*βασιλεύς*) and his office.

On the question of the relation in which First Peter stands to the Pauline Epistles Dr Hort rejects Bernhard Weiss's idea that Paul borrowed from Peter. He holds that the few coincidences between Peter's Epistles and those of Paul to the Romans and the Ephesians, together with certain resemblances to the Epistle of St James, bring us to 62 A.D. or a little later, as the date of the letter, which again takes us near the Neronic persecution. In support of Rome as the place of composition he goes into an elaborate examination of the order of the regions mentioned in the inscription, and taking the names to be those of the Roman provinces he shows that the peculiar order in the list is best explained by the exigencies of travel, the Epistle for some reason connected with Silvanus being intended to "enter Asia Minor by a seaport of Pontus, and thence to make a circuit till it reached the neighbourhood of the Euxine again."

Among the more remarkable things in the exegesis we may notice the admirable Notes on the terms 'elect' and 'foreknowledge'; the explanation of the *παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς* on the principle that the terms originally distinctive of the Jewish Church and people are applied to the Christian Church as the true Israel of God; the force given to the *εἰ δέον λυπηθέντες* in i. 6; the interpretation of *ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ* in i. 5 as="in a season of extremity"; and of the *λόγου ζώντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος* in i. 23

as = "the Word of God *who* liveth and abideth for ever"; the statements on the "spiritual sacrifices" (ii. 5), the phrases *ὑμῖν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ* (ii. 7), *ἐποπτεύοντες* (ii. 12), *πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει* (ii. 13), etc. On these and many other passages, but above all on those which contain the theology of the Epistle, the student will find this brief and incomplete commentary the best of guides.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Catholicism : Roman and Anglican.

By A. M. Fairbairn, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1899. Cr. 8vo. Price, 7s. 6d.

DURING one of the periodical outbursts of blatant and aggressive Protestantism—when the attack upon Sacerdotalism and Sacramentalism is for the most part conducted on the lowest level, and the defence not always upon the highest—it is refreshing to come across a serious, learned, and philosophical attempt to get to the bottom of the ideas implied by that great reaction which has influenced so profoundly the fortunes, not only of the Church of England but of all Churches, during the last half-century. The discussion is here conducted on a high level. Dr Fairbairn cannot be accused of either thinking or talking as if the whole movement were a matter of man-millinery, or arose merely from the craving of little men for spiritual tyranny. Indeed, he is only too disposed to attribute to the school whom he criticises a far-reaching philosophy of life of which many of them—not only amongst the rank and file—are, both for good and for evil, quite innocent. It is perhaps almost inevitable on the part of those who view not merely the movement but the institution within which it takes place from the outside, to take the actors a little too seriously—to see monsters of sacerdotal tyranny or dogmatic bigotry in men who, when known intimately, are found to be really very harmless and tolerant individuals, who quite fail to *realise* the tremendous language which they are prepared on occasion to use about priestly prerogatives or the relative position of Church and Dissent, and whose Christianity at bottom is very like the Christianity of Dr Fairbairn's friends. But the defect, if it be a defect, is one on the right side. It is best to study the ideas of a school in the form which they assume in the men who take them most seriously; and in the original Tractarian leaders it is impossible to exaggerate the seriousness with which their whole being appropriated the system which they had excogitated.

Dr Fairbairn's fundamental thesis is that Catholicism—in its fullest extent Roman Catholicism, and in a lesser degree Anglo-

Catholicism—and Protestantism represent not merely different ecclesiastical systems, but different religions, different ways of thinking about God and man's relation to Him. The Catholic system is, according to him, founded on a distrust of reason. This thesis is supported chiefly by an analysis of Newman's Philosophy. In the main Dr Fairbairn is fairly able to substantiate his charge. Newman became a Romanist because he was afraid of being an Atheist. And the source of this fear was not merely psychological; it sprang from the fundamental assumptions of the philosophy which—probably quite unconsciously—Newman had adopted from the traditional English thought of the pre-Kantian epoch. He could not think of Reason as anything but a faculty of ratiocination—of making deductions from premisses which themselves owed nothing to Reason, but were got simply from experience by an "illative sense." It was just because reason could not give him the premisses which religion demanded that he was impelled to seek them in authority. So far Dr Fairbairn at least has a case. But in one respect I cannot help thinking that he is unjust to Newman. In respect of morality Newman was not a sceptic. It is hardly fair to treat Kant as representing the tendency to trust reason and Newman the tendency to distrust it, when Kant's constructive system was, quite as much as Newman's, built upon confidence in the deliverances of the practical reason. The fact that Newman was not familiar with the philosophy which regarded the moral faculty as a kind of reason must not be made too much of. No doubt if Newman had been acquainted with that philosophy, it would have had important consequences for his whole system of thought: he would have been forced to ask himself whether the reason which he was so much inclined to depreciate on the speculative side was not really the same reason which he was so willing to trust on the practical side. The late Dean Stanley used to speculate on the difference that it would have made to the Church of England had the speculative and subtle Newman known German instead of the learned but intellectually impenetrable Pusey. And it is not merely German theology but, perhaps even more, German philosophy that could not have failed to make their impress on such a mind as Newman's. But still, after all, Newman in basing Religion upon the existence of Conscience was, so far, in much the same position as Kant.

I will not attempt to discuss the exact extent to which this distrust of reason can justly be attributed to the Anglo-Catholic leaders other than Newman. On the whole Dr Fairbairn's account of their thought seems to me as just and discriminating as it is interesting. Nothing can be more masterly, for instance, than his analysis of Manning's character—a far more sympathetic account

of it probably than would be given by many members of his own communion. It would be impossible to expect an avowed and uncompromising opponent to be more ample or more sympathetic in his acknowledgment of the moral and religious results of the Oxford movement. "It is a blunder of the worst kind," he tells us, "to imagine that any form of Christianity can be served by any other form of Christianity being made ridiculous," and, on the whole, he has been commendably moderate in his use of ridicule. Nor can the present reviewer at least deny the justice of his severe criticism upon the intellectual and the religious deficiencies of the whole Catholic (to use the word in the technical sense) mode of thought. The following passage will give a sufficient idea of Dr Fairbairn's position :—

"When we analyse the principles or elements that underlie the Anglican ideal, what do we find? A singularly imperfect and narrow idea of religion, supported by an equally narrow and one-sided theory as to human nature, as to history and providence, as to God and man in themselves and in their mutual relations. On the one side, the ideal rested on the twin pillars of a great doubt and a great fear. It doubted the presence of God in humanity, the activity and reality of His grace outside the limits of a constituted Church, and apart from the sacramental persons, instruments and symbols. It doubted the sanity of the reason He had given; thought that this reason had so little affinity with its Maker as to be ever tending away from Him, its bent by nature being from God rather than to God. And so it was possessed by the great fear that the reason, freed from the authority and guardian care of an organised and apostolic church, *i.e.* clergy, would infallibly break from the control of His law and His truth. It thus made man an atheist by nature, and so confined divine influence to artificial and ordained channels as to make the common life, which most needs to be illumined and ennobled by the divine, either vacant of God or alien from Him. And so it enriched the Church by impoverishing humanity, what it took from the one being its loftiest ideals, what it gave to the other being their sensuous and baser counterfeits. On the other and more positive side, this ideal implied principles that had no place in the mind of Christ, or any real affinity to His free and gracious spirit."

If we feel that our author has occasionally ridden his thesis a little too hard, it is not so much in his estimate of "Catholicism" as in his exaltation of popular and traditional "Protestantism" that a non-sacerdotalist Anglican whose fundamental theology does not differ very widely from Dr Fairbairn's is like to differ from the philosophical Congregationalist divine. He may heartily accept the historical position that Christianity has been saved by Protestant-

ism, and would have welcomed a more emphatic assertion that a very great deal of what was best in the Anglo-Catholic movement was essentially the outcome of Protestantism, but we cannot help feeling that in what he says about Catholicism (at least in its Anglo-Catholic form), Dr Fairbairn is contrasting the actual Catholicism of history with a purely ideal and unhistorical Protestantism. A deeper sense or even more candid admissions of the defects of Protestantism (when such admissions occur in Dr Fairbairn's book they are not quite wisely treated as peculiar to Evangelicism) might have enabled Dr Fairbairn to see that Anglo-Catholicism, though it *was* a reaction, was something more, and did visibly pave the way for much that no liberal Christian can fail to regard as theological progress. In the following passage, surely, Dr Fairbairn degenerates into something very like special pleading :

"There is no sense in which Rome is an authority that Christ is one; and no sense in which Christ is an authority that Rome is one. He is an authority in the sense that conscience is; it is an authority in the sense that the law and the legislature are authorities. His authority is personal, moral, living; it is organised, definitive, determinative, administrative. The authority which springs from a person, and is exercised through conscience, is the basis of freedom; but the authority of a judicial tribunal or determinative conclave is its limitation or even abrogation. The one presents matter for interpretation and belief; but the other decides what is to be believed, and in what sense. The attribute or essential characteristic of Christ's authority as exercised and accepted is Sovereignty; but the attribute and note of papal authority is Infallibility. Christ is not infallible in the papal sense, and the papal authority is not sovereign in the sense predicated of Christ. Christ defines no dogma, formulates no *ex cathedra* judgment concerning the mode in which His own person and the relation of the two natures must be conceived, or concerning the rank and conception of His mother, or indeed on any of those things on which Rome has most authoritatively spoken; while the methods of Rome in enforcing her decrees are those of a legal or judicial or institutional sovereignty."

I myself happen to agree with Dr Fairbairn that there is a great difference between the kinds of authority which may reasonably be conceded to Jesus Christ, and in a lower degree to the writings through which His ideas have reached us. But it would have been only fair to have acknowledged that the difference arises not from a different conception of authority so much as from a different belief as to the reasonableness of trusting to one authority or the other, and the nature of the beliefs which the two authorities offer for our acceptance. It is not really because the Pope or his so-called

General Councils are a "judicial tribunal" that Dr Fairbairn and myself refuse to submit to its decisions, but because we do not believe that its decisions are likely to be true. No doubt there is a great difference between an authority which appeals for confirmation to Conscience and Reason, and one which substitutes itself for them. But it is fair to remember in the first place that to the Roman or Anglican Catholic all that Dr Fairbairn says of the authority of Christ and of the Bible is no less applicable to the authority of the Pope or of the Church; and secondly, that the contrast can only be made out by treating the authority of Christ and the Bible in the way in which Dr Fairbairn (and myself) think that it ought to be treated, and not in the way in which it has continually been treated by Protestants down to very recent times. To the majority of orthodox Protestants, even at the present day, the words "Christ is not infallible in the papal sense," would appear sheer blasphemy. Protestants quite as much as Roman Catholics are in the habit of appealing to dicta of the Johannine Christ to prove their theories as to the "mode in which His own person and the relation of the two natures must be conceived." Till but yesterday Protestants have appealed equally to every part of Scripture to find decisions as to "what is to be believed, and in what sense"; and it is difficult to see how anyone who attributes any authority at all to Christ's word can say that they are wrong; although the liberal Protestant may differ from the conservative as to the kind of questions upon which he will attach weight to that authority. The truth is that authority is so much associated in Dr Fairbairn's mind with institutions and ideas which he dislikes that he is unwilling calmly to think out what it means, and to acknowledge the reasonableness of the principle of belief upon authority, however unreasonable may be the particular applications of it which have been given to that principle by Roman Catholics and High Anglicans. To explain authority in opinion as "the right to define and enforce belief; in the sphere of action, the right to prescribe conduct and to exact obedience," is thoroughly misleading, and decidedly unfair to the view of any intelligent Roman or Anglo-Catholic. The "enforce" strikes an entirely false note, suggesting persecution, thumb-screws, inquisitions, and the like. Some modern Romanists may believe that the Church ought to have the right to appeal to the secular arm to enforce belief in her judgments or the execution of her decrees. But this is quite another matter. Most intelligent modern Romanists and all Anglicans with whom it is worth while to enter into discussion believe nothing of the kind. Even the "right to define" is hardly fair. It suggests the idea that authority means infallibility, and that submission to authority is necessarily

unlimited ; whereas the confidence which intelligent Catholics repose in the authority of the Church is founded upon the belief that the Church is likely to be right. It is exactly the same kind of belief which in matters of science we repose in the persons whom we regard as experts in the matter in hand. It is obvious that the religious belief of the great majority of Christians must rest partly upon the authority of the religious community ; at the very least in so far as their belief rests upon the truth of historical facts, and the trustworthiness and interpretation of writings which they have neither the capacity nor the leisure to investigate.

Nor is any man's religious or moral consciousness independent of the consciousness of the Christian society in which the man lives. Where the present reviewer and (at bottom I suspect) the author he is reviewing differ from the Anglo-Catholic, is that we assert more strongly than he would do the right and duty of the individual to think for himself, and in the last resort to reject the judgment of any ecclesiastical authority whatever when it is opposed to that of his own reason and conscience (for after all the judgments of societies were, in the first instance, the judgment of often isolated individuals) ; and secondly, in the interpretation which we give to the idea of the Church. At all events, for myself, I attach great importance to the judgment of the collective Christian consciousness, but I attach comparatively little importance to the decisions of the fourth-century councils or modern convocations, because I believe that the "mind of the Church," in the highest sense, is often to be found elsewhere than in such assemblies.

It is not only in reference to this particular question of "authority," but in his whole attitude towards the idea of the Church that Dr Fairbairn has taken what appears to me the wrong line of attack. He has tried to belittle the visible Church, instead of elevating and expanding our idea of it. It is true enough that the Church is an ideal to which no single human society or any collection of independent societies has ever adequately corresponded. But still it was as an ideal which was meant to be realised in actual human institutions. To belittle the institutions in which the ideal has been partially expressed is not the way to improve our conception of it. It is true that no definite plan of organisation has been bequeathed to the Church by her founders as binding upon her for all time. But it is a mistake to use "organised," "institutional," "ecclesiastical," etc., as terms of disparagement. The Church, if it is to be a real living society, must have an organisation, though it must adapt itself to the wants of the time. Dr Fairbairn's attitude towards all outward expressions of the Church idea tends only, I cannot but think, to play into the

hands of those who by the Church practically mean the clergy. The Oxford movement owes its strength to the forgotten truth to which it has recalled men, and especially to its revival of the practically forgotten idea of the Church. To elevate and expand the idea of the Church, not to polemise against it, is the true work of the Reformer. What is superstitious and mechanical in the High Church ideas will never disappear so long as the only alternative to them is supposed to be a religious individualism such as is offered to us by Dr Fairbairn. In some respects Dr Fairbairn has done justice to the wider social and intellectual outlook of the younger high and more liberal Churchman. But he has not fully grasped (so I cannot but think) the fact that the idea of an inspired authoritative Church, even as presented by the Tractarians, still more as it is presented by such men as Canon Gore, is at least an advance upon the old Protestant idea of an inspiration beginning and ending with an infallible Bible. To suggest that the authority of the Church, unlike that of Christ, is not "personal, moral, living" simply shows that Dr Fairbairn's conception of the authority of the Church, which he believes himself to reject, has not advanced beyond the sense in which it is accepted by the narrowest High Churchman. Anyone who reads the collection of *Essays on Church Reform*, edited by Canon Gore, will see that the High Churchman's idea of the Church is rapidly developing. The best modern High Churchmen are at least prepared to recognise not merely in theory but in actual Church organisation, the participation of the laity in Church government—even in matters of doctrine. Anyone who reads that volume sympathetically will be disposed to feel that the theory which connects a high view of the visible Church with such notions as a mechanical apostolical succession or with the belief in sacramental magic is on its last legs. They are no more necessary to a high view of the importance of the religious society—yes, if you like, of an "organised" society and an "institutional" Christianity—than a high view of the State is dependent on mythical theories of divine right or social contract. I can only regret that Dr Fairbairn's criticism should tend to strengthen rather than to dissolve, so disastrous an association or (to speak frankly) confusion of ideas.

My review has been very controversial because Dr Fairbairn's book is avowedly a highly controversial one, and not from any want either of profound respect or of strong theological sympathy. But for the disturbing influence of the theological pre-possession which I have tried to point out, I should have had little to criticise in the book. Considered simply as so many studies of the leading personalities described, the book ranks as a fine piece of literature. To the "Catholics" the author is as fair as is possible to an avowedly hostile writer whose deliberate aim is to lower the undoubtedly ex-

aggregated estimate, both on the intellectual and on the moral side, which is natural to those who look back upon the days of the "movement" as to an heroic age. When he deals with personalities with whom he has more sympathy, Dr Fairbairn becomes an almost ideal critic. Nothing could be juster or more discriminating than his appreciations of Lightfoot, Hort, Hatch, Jowett, and the present Bishop of Durham. But I must conclude with a parting protest against the assumption that the Broad Church party is practically extinct. Conspicuous leaders indeed are wanting, but it is not fair either to those who endeavour to tread in the footsteps of Maurice and Arnold and Stanley, or to the younger High Churchmen to ignore the immense extent to which what used to be considered very "broad" views are now accepted as a matter of course by intelligent High Churchmen; while the number of those whose breadth (though they have learned much from the High Churchmen) is unqualified by any adhesion to high sacerdotal or sacramental views is, I venture respectfully to assure Dr Fairbairn, far greater than either he or many Protestant alarmists are aware—far greater, in all probability, than it has ever been at any past period in the history of the Church of England.

H. RASHDALL.

Notices.

No one has occupied a more conspicuous or a more honoured place in the ranks of English Nonconformity in our day than Dr R. W. Dale, of Birmingham. His is probably the best known and most outstanding name among the many names that have brought distinction on the Nonconformist Churches, and made them a power in our land during the last quarter of a century. No man certainly is likely to be longer or more gratefully remembered. No man has done more for his own Church or for religion in all the Churches. No man has impressed himself more deeply upon the life of the Communion to which he belonged. No man has combined in larger measure the qualities of Christian minister, statesman, administrator, preacher, and theologian. Nor are there in all the Churches many that can be said to equal him in the influence which he had for good or in the varied and important service which he rendered to Christian faith and life generally. A biography of Dr Dale¹ there must have been. And it has been provided in a way to earn the cordial thanks of all who are capable of appreciating a good subject and a finished bit of literary work. In this case the son has written the father's life without obtruding himself, or setting us aside with the partial judgments of relations and friends. He has

¹ *The Life of R. W. Dale, of Birmingham.* By his son A. W. W. Dale. With portrait. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. 8vo, pp. x. 771. Price, 14s.

shown good judgment and good taste, as well as loyalty and filial honour in this memorial volume. He has given us an admirable portraiture of his distinguished father in his private life and in his public action ; in his civic, political, and ecclesiastical relations ; in his pulpit and pastoral work ; and in his theological convictions and achievements.

And the picture is one that we feel at once to be true to nature. It is the picture of a strong, earnest, independent, strenuous man, with whom religion was the primary interest, the very life of his life, but to whom nothing was alien that touched common human existence in any of its connexions—domestic, civil, commercial, or industrial. He was the greatest force in the public life of Birmingham all through his residence there, and from that centre he exerted an almost unparalleled influence over the Midlands and far beyond them. He went on his own way in all things. He was, in all his doctrinal beliefs and ecclesiastical sympathies, a Nonconformist of the Nonconformists, and yet on the Eucharist and other subjects he held opinions which were in affinity rather with other Churches. He was a Liberal of the Liberals, but one who did not swear by every syllable of the party programme. Latterly he ranked as a Liberal Unionist, but judging by the statements of his position on the Irish question, which are given in this volume, we should have to pronounce him a very unusual specimen of the politician known by that name. And so it was with him in all things. Grasping great principles and intensely loyal to these, he moved with free step among their accessories and refused to be bound.

Eminent as he was, however, as a man of action, he has laid his generation perhaps under a heavier debt by his contributions to religious literature. His book on the *Atonement* remains yet the best English book that our time has produced. His volumes on Paul's *Epistle to the Ephesians* and on *Christian Doctrine*, are of great value. No man in recent days has done more to vindicate the evangelical faith, or to reassert and restate its great doctrinal positions. In these works the theology of the great Puritan masters is revived, and made to speak in modern terms with its ancient power. And in his *Living Christ and the Four Gospels* and others of his books he opened up fresh fountains of religious thought which have invigorated and inspired many.

A man like Dr Dale is a great gift to the Church of Christ. And it is a rare pleasure to see so noble and fruitful a life so worthily treated. The biographer has laid the religious public under great obligations by this impressive memorial of one of the foremost and most gifted of our Christian thinkers, preachers, and statesmen.

Canon Gore has had no happier idea than that of preparing what

he modestly calls a "Series of Simple Expositions of Portions of the New Testament." No one who understands the needs of the English people can grudge that Canon Gore should turn aside for a time from those more scientific studies on Christian doctrine in which he has done much excellent work, to a duty of this kind. It may seem a humbler task, but it is one that demands a combination of qualities which few possess, and it is one that requires to be done. No greater service can be rendered at present to the largest interests of truth and faith than by bringing the English mind in contact with Scripture, and putting the mass of the Christian people in England in possession of the best results of that scholarly exegesis which has been prosecuted with the most fruitful results in our own day. This is Canon Gore's aim in the series of volumes referred to, and it is being carried out with conspicuous success. The volumes on the *Sermon on the Mount* and the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, which have previously appeared, have been received with much favour, and are certain to be more and more valued. They are followed now by the first of two volumes on the great *Epistle to the Romans*.¹ There is scope here for the exercise of the Canon's best gifts as an interpreter and as a theologian. In direct, simple, lucid terms he unfolds the argument of the Epistle step by step, so that it may be grasped and appreciated by anyone. He translates it into modern forms of thought and expression, and brings it home to the needs and experiences of the religious life of the present day. And he does this not in the vague and inexact way of much that is given us as "practical" interpretation or "popular" theology, but on the basis and in the spirit of scientific exegesis.

There are some things to which exception may be taken. But they are not many. They occur mostly in what is said of the relation of Paul's doctrine to the doctrinal statements of the Continental Reformers and some modern theologians. Ritschl, for instance, is cited as one who has brought back the truth that the "object of the sacrificial death of Christ and, therefore, of the divine justification, is not the individual but the Church." But Ritschl's idea of the Church has other connexions and interests than those that Canon Gore looks to. It is Calvin and Luther, however, that receive the scantiest justice. The statement of the position of the great Genevese Reformer on the subject of justification (see p. 38) throws the emphasis on what was but the secondary thing with him, and would imply that the essence of his doctrine was the highest supralapsarianism. Luther again is represented as making

¹ St Paul's Epistle to the Romans: A Practical Exposition. By Charles Gore, M.A., D.D., Canon of Westminster. Vol. I. (chapters i.-viii.) London: John Murray, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 326. Price, 8s. 6d.

faith "a bare acceptance of the divine offer without any moral quality at all—a bare believing ourselves to be saved without any moral reason in it." But this is not a version of Luther's doctrine of faith that will be borne out by a study of his teaching as a whole. Nor can it be said that in this there was any substantial difference between Calvin and Luther. These, however, are only brief and incidental statements, of which the worst that can be said is that they are inadequate. On the other hand, there is the frank recognition of the fact that the terms 'justify' and its cognates have in the New Testament the forensic sense which the Reformers attached to them. At the close of the Introduction, too, there are some admirable and weighty words on the doctrine itself and the loss which results from the neglect of it. "It remains true," says our author, "that no revival of religion can ever attain to any ripeness or richness unless this central doctrine of St Paul's Gospel resumes its central place with us also."

A *Life of Dr John Stoughton*¹ comes as an appropriate and welcome addition to the valuable Christian biographies which have recently been put into our hands. It is a book of moderate size and modest pretensions. But it is the brief account of a long, honourable, and useful career. It is a work of filial piety done with excellent judgment and in the best taste. And it is a work worth having, for Dr Stoughton was no ordinary man. He had a high position, and was much loved in the Christian communion, to which by conviction he attached himself. But his name was known and honoured far beyond these limits. He was a man of a large, generous, appreciative spirit, who could be in sympathy with the best men in all the Churches, and had intimate associations with many who differed widely from him in matters theological, ecclesiastical, and political. He made his mark, too, as a writer. His contributions to the ecclesiastical history of England are his best, though not by any means his only works, and they have merits which have won them wide regard. It is pleasant to see how cordially they were received by Churchmen and men of letters, who looked at things with very different eyes from those of the stout Nonconformist leader.

In this memorial volume we get precisely what we wish to have—a rapid sketch of the early life, a peep into the love of theological discussion and other aptitudes which were seen in the youth and prefigured his future, the things of most general interest in his ministerial career in Windsor and in Kensington, some account of his travels in Europe and in the East, and some insight into his occupations and modes of life in the busy gracious years that followed his retirement from active work. But we also get much

¹ John Stoughton, D.D. *A Short Record of a Long Life*. By his Daughter. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Crown 8vo, pp. xii. 242. Price, 3s. 6d.

that is of interest as regards his preaching, his theological views, his attitude to public questions, especially the great subject of Christian union, and his friendships with many men of note, Dean Stanley, Dean Hook, Matthew Arnold, Archbishop Tait, Archbishop Magee, and others. A selection of his *Letters* is also given, and they are worth reading. But his biographer never allows us to become weary. She gives enough, but never more than enough. How much happier would it be both for reader and for subject if all biographers had such a sense of the fitness and the measure of things.

Dr Stoughton's theological sympathies were wide. They were most, however, with men of the order of John Howe, and he considered it the greatest compliment when two newspapers, of different political leanings, compared him once to the great Puritan. He had a rich, strong, enthusiastic, energetic nature, and a variety of acquirements. But the chief notes in his character were his love of truth and his catholicity of spirit. His successor in the Kensington pulpit describes him truly when he says of him that "he believed and preached the creed, that the road to a better and more helpful understanding between the Churches of Jesus Christ lies, not in mutual depreciation, but in mutual appreciation."

The series of historical monographs edited by Professor S. M. Jackson, of New York University, and known as the *Heroes of the Reformation*, deserves a cordial welcome. If all the volumes are as good as the one now before us, viz. *Martin Luther*,¹ the series will be one of great value. The story of the great Saxon Reformer has been committed to the hand of Henry Eyster Jacobs, Dean and Professor of Systematic Theology in the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, Philadelphia. He has produced an admirable book, the fruit evidently of wide and sympathetic acquaintance with the times and the man. The great passages in Luther's career are vividly presented. The course of the Reformation movement, with the influences at work in it, is described in a lucid and instructive way. The narrative is made the more interesting by numerous illustrations, which are both appropriate and well executed. The best authorities have been consulted all through, Luther's own writings, De Wette's edition of his letters, the *Corpus Reformatorum*, and the works of Julius Köstlin being most largely drawn upon. Careful critical estimates of the chief actors on both sides, and telling sketches of many of the minor figures, add to the value of the book. Of most importance in some respects, however, is the chapter on Luther's theology. The test of a man's competence to write of Luther and the Reformation lies here, and Professor Jacobs will be acknowledged by students of Luther to stand that test. He gives us one of the best accounts of the great Reformer's

¹ New York and London: Putnam's Sons, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 454. Price, 6s.

doctrinal position that we know in anything like the same compass. This may be said above all of his teaching on original sin, predestination, and justification. Of his doctrine of predestination it is rightly said that it was not the centre of his system, but a "corollary to his doctrine of the bondage of the will, and the utter helplessness of man without the grace of God," and that in point of fact it was usually kept in the background, except when "some exaggeration of human freedom provoked the most complete denial of all human agency in man's return to God." Much the same indeed may be said of Calvin. The statement on Luther's view of faith deserves special attention. It disposes briefly but effectively of certain misconstructions of Luther's doctrine which have been current, as if he made faith on the one hand a mere emotion and on the other hand a mental act with no immediate relation to the life. Faith justifies not because of its own excellence but solely because of the object it appropriates. Yet it is a "divine work in us which transforms us." "Embracing such a Redeemer," as Luther himself says, it "brings with it a band of most beautiful virtues, nor is it ever alone."

Mr James Hope Moulton contributes a volume, entitled *Visions of Sin*,¹ to the *Helps Heavenward* series. An introductory chapter on *Sin—whence and whither?* is followed by studies of Achan, Saul, Judas, Caiaphas, Herod Antipas, and Pilate. Two short chapters, in poetical form, on the themes 'The Vision of Darkness in Light' and 'The Vision of Light in Darkness,' close the interesting little book, which is appropriately dedicated to the memory of the author's learned and admirable father, the late head of the Leys School. The character-sketches form the bulk of the volume. They show much insight, and are given in a pointed, piquant style, brightened by imaginative touches and poetic feeling. Those of Saul, Caiaphas, and Pilate are particularly striking. Everywhere the author keeps the practical interest in view, and makes it the more telling by throwing it on the screen of the historical narrative. His object is to help men to heaven "by turning the searchlight of Scripture," as he expresses it, "on By-path Meadow and Vanity Fair, on the lions in the way, and on the grisly shadows besetting the valley through which the pilgrim must travel to the Celestial City." He makes his object good in a way that should interest and encourage many readers.

Students of Syriac are greatly indebted to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for the *Compendious Dictionary*² which is in process of publication. The second volume is now to hand,

¹ London: C. H. Kelly, 1898. Demy 16mo, pp. 227. Price, 2s.

² A Compendious Syriac Dictionary. Edited by J. Payne Smith. Part II. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Small 4to, pp. 137-272. Price, 8s. 6d. net.

and the whole is to be completed in four volumes. The work is beautifully printed and most carefully edited. It is founded on the well-known *Thesaurus Syriacus* which we owe to Dr R. Payne Smith. It gives all that the student ordinarily requires, and it gives it in the most compact and useful form. When it is completed we shall have the best and handiest Lexicon yet provided.

The Bishop of London publishes an Address on *The Position of the Church of England*,¹ which he delivered at Ruridecanal Conferences during the months of November and December of last year. Its object is to assert an entirely peculiar position for the Church of England, a position which the Bishop is bold enough to describe as "the noblest which can be taken by any institution." He will not have it that the system of the Church of England is either in the main that of Continental Protestantism or that of the Church of the Middle Ages. He will not allow it even to be a compromise between two opposite tendencies of religious thought. We are accustomed indeed to hear it asserted of the Episcopal Church of England by her friends and defenders that she is a Church of an almost all-inclusive comprehensiveness, and that it is her glory to be so. But our Bishop holds it to be a mistake to think that this means "compromise." That is an unpolite term to apply to a religious body. What is it then that he claims for his Church? It is that she has the distinctive position of resting "on an appeal to sound learning." An extraordinary claim truly. "It may be said," the Bishop himself remarks, "that this is an arrogant claim." Had he not used the word himself, we should have hesitated so to describe his assertion. But, encouraged by his example, we shall say frankly that, as one first reads such a claim, it looks quite superb in its arrogance, if it were not so pointless. Let us see, however, how much there is in it, and how far other Churches must confess themselves 'unlearned and ignorant,' as certain men were taken to be who had something to do with the first of all Christian Churches. By this proud prerogative of "sound learning" Dr Creighton means "the process of dividing accurately between the Truth and the accretions which had grown round it." This is the thing which the Church of England as by law established has had, and which has been possessed in like measure by none of the other Churches of the Reformation. Very well. But let us see how it is applied. Here the vagueness and incoherence of the claim come out, and here it is seen to reduce itself at last just to the method of "compromise" which was formally disavowed.

¹ By Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London. London: Longmans, 1899. 8vo, pp. 24. Price, 6d.

What of the question of the Church's attitude to the final authority? All that Dr Creighton says is that it "was urged that the reference to Scripture meant an appeal to private judgment," but that the "Church of England refers also to 'the decent order of the ancient Fathers'; that is to say, the methods of the primitive Church." But how much he means by this is left comfortably indeterminate. All that is really said is that "reference to primitive times is particularly valuable for the interpretation of Scripture, for we tend to approach Scripture with prepossessions of our own." True enough. But if this is all that is meant by the Church of England's attitude to "the methods of the primitive Church" in her doctrine and use of Scripture, in what sense has she a singular position among the Churches—a position "the noblest which can be taken by any institution"? Then Dr Creighton goes on to speak as if the Continental Reformation was a thing of "passionate denials," and as if the Church of England was the superior of all Protestant Churches in that she has always taught positive truths "in a simple and dignified system," where other Churches have dealt in negatives. A strange thing truly for anyone to venture to say who has read the Confessions and Catechisms of the various Protestant Churches and knows their history. And so it is, too, with the question of the Lord's Supper. What Dr Creighton asserts is that, in the application of its wonderful and solitary gift of "sound learning," the Church of England refuses to "go beyond the words of Scripture and the practice of the Early Church. It defends the record of Scripture against two unwarrantable attempts to gratify man's curiosity, and leaves the Rite itself as it was left by our Lord." This is all again comfortably vague, and it helps us not one whit. What is the Bishop of London's opinion as to the harmony of the doctrine of consubstantiation and theories of a similar kind with the standards of the Church? Anything that Dr Creighton writes is sure to be clever. This pamphlet is clever, but it is sadly lacking in grasp and gravity and weight. This want in it is seen most of all when at last it touches on the present serious state of things. All that Dr Creighton recognises in the existing "crisis" is this—an "attempt on purely missionary grounds to adapt the services of the Church to what were supposed to be the needs of the people"; a tendency "in a few cases" to "introduce teaching on subjects which were omitted in the revision of the Prayer Book"; a "desire to give greater dignity to the services of the Church as a part of public life"; a "desire to break down, somewhat too precipitately, the barriers of our insularity by emphasising the points of resemblance between the system of the English Church and that of foreign Churches." How the strong men of the English Church

Union must smile when they read these soft phrases! Questions of the kind the Bishop has now to deal with will not be settled by a few pleasantries and smartnesses.

Professor Blass's *Grammar of New Testament Greek*¹ has taken high rank among books of its kind in the original German edition. It has now found a competent English translator in Mr Thackeray, and in this careful and readable rendering it will be a valuable help to many students in Great Britain and America. The work of translation has been far from easy, but it has been done faithfully and successfully. Dr Blass deals with questions of New Testament Greek in a way of his own, which distinguishes his book from the treatises of Winer, Buttmann, Sheldon Green, Schmiedel, Viteau, Burton, and others. It will supersede none of these, and if we were to have but one grammar, it would be one of these we should prefer. But it is the work of a practised philologist and a distinguished classical scholar. It has the benefit of its author's special studies in these lines. It has the distinction of giving us a view of New Testament Grammar, which proceeds on the principle that Hellenistic Greek is a purer language, and one with more regular laws than used to be allowed. It also takes special account of the materials and operations of textual criticism, quoting the documents themselves instead of the various critical editions. With respect to the results of the higher criticism the procedure is more measured. All the epistles which bear Paul's name are used together as Pauline Epistles. The two Petrine Epistles are dealt with together, but the Apocalypse is treated as by one John, the Gospel and Epistles as by another. One of the best features of the book is the practice of illustrating New Testament usage by reference to the Greek of contemporary or approximately contemporary Greek writings, especially the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the first Epistle and the so-called second Epistle of Clement, and the Clementine Homilies. It has some of the defects of its qualities. For one thing, though it recognises the Aramaic or Hebrew element, and specifies three ways in which Greek-writing Jews might voluntarily or involuntarily be affected by it, too little is made of this influence in certain parts of the Grammar, especially in its general treatment of the syntax. There are also important questions of a particular kind in syntax which are much too slightly disposed of; as, *e.g.*, the dropping of the second article in the instance of two nouns or appositive clauses connected by *καί* and in the same case. But the book is one

¹ By Frederick Blass, D.Phil., D.Th., Hon. LL.D., Dublin, Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Halle-Wittenberg. Translated by Henry St John Thackeray, M.A., Examiner in the Education Department. London: Macmillan, 1898. 8vo, pp. x. 340. Price, 14s. net.

which the scholar must have. It is concise, while it touches all the most important matters belonging to phonetics, accident, and syntax. It is made the more useful by three indices, viz., of subjects, Greek words, and New Testament passages.

Under the title of *Great Books*,¹ Dean Farrar republishes a series of papers originally contributed to the *Sunday Magazine*. They were written in the interest of young readers, and with the view of directing their attention to the "rich treasures of the immortal teachers of the past," which are apt to be overlooked in these days when books are so endlessly multiplied, and when the quality of so much that comes first to hand is so poor. The writers specially dealt with are Bunyan, Shakespeare, Dante, Milton, and the author of *The Imitation of Christ*. The volume does not attempt more than a series of popular sketches. But they are well-informed, lively, and appreciative. They should interest young minds and attract them to the study of what is best in literature. Here are the high lessons which Dean Farrar finds in the life of John Milton:—"In childhood a sweet seriousness; in boyhood a resolute diligence; in youth, high self-respect, and the white flower of a blameless life; in manhood, self-sacrificing energy and heroic public service; and, amid the crowded agonies of all his later years, an inflexible fortitude, an indomitable faith. He, like Robert Browning, 'believed in the soul, and was very sure of God.'"

The Principal of the Ripon and Wakefield Diocesan Training College, the Rev. G. W. Garrod, B.A., publishes a volume on *The Epistle to the Colossians*.² It consists of an analysis and brief notes, such as may be "useful to students in schools and colleges in their preparation for examination." A series of examination questions is appended. The author has spent much pains upon the book. He has made diligent use of Lightfoot, Hort, Godet, and other scholars of the first rank, who have contributed in various ways to the interpretation and the literary history of the Epistle. We miss, however, the great German commentators, and we find some used, such as Sadler and Barry, who are of much less importance. The main points regarding Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, the Epistles he wrote during that period, the circumstances under which the letter to the Colossians was composed, the nature of the Colossian heresy, the relation in which the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians stand to each other are stated briefly and accurately. The doctrinal ideas of the Epistle are also exhibited in detail. The more difficult passages in the exegesis are treated with comparative fulness, and all that the young student needs to have in the form of geographical and biographical

¹ London: Isbister & Co., 1898. Crown 8vo, pp. 235. Price, 5s.

² London: Macmillan, 1889. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 172. Price, 3s. net.

Notes is given. The changes made by the Revisers are also noticed. There are some obvious faults of repetition in the Notes, and the book errs perhaps in making things too easy for the student. But if it is worth while writing a book with the object of popularising the results of scientific scholarship, and particularly for the needs of men who go up to professional examinations, Mr Garrod has certainly done the kind of work and done it in a reliable manner.

The writings of the late Dean of Norwich were widely appreciated for their devout and earnest spirit. His *Thoughts on Personal Religion* in particular had a very large circulation, and deserved it. The book was one which no one could read without receiving help in the meditative and prayerful exercises of the religious life. A volume on *The Lord's Prayer*¹ by so thoughtful and reverent a writer, will be gratefully welcomed by many readers. It is the result of lengthened thought and frequent revision, having been composed originally in the form of Sermons and used as such for the edification of various congregations. It is essentially a series of meditations in the style with which Dean Goulburn made us happily familiar. But it proceeds on a basis of careful study, and it gives much good matter on the structure of the Lord's Prayer, its completeness, its sources, its different forms, and the context in which it stands in the Gospels. The Lord's Prayer is "a seed of prayer," says the Dean, "containing in germ every petition which the human heart can send up to God, even as the decalogue is a seed of precept, containing in germ every rule which can be given for human conduct. The great marvel in both is their comprehensiveness and brevity, the extraordinary organisation and arrangement, the reduction of the subject treated to a few fundamental elements manifested in those ten short precepts, in these seven short petitions."

The *London Quarterly Review*² commences a new series with January 1899. It promises well. The form is inviting and the contents are good. The range of subject is extensive. The proportion of properly theological and ecclesiastical papers is perhaps too small. There is certainly no lack of variety. Articles on the "Effect of the recent war upon American Character," the "Vacation Rambles of a Naturalist," "Egypt and the Soudan," and even on topics like "Sport in the Caucasus," stand side by side with papers on "The Historical and Spiritual Christ," "Methodism and the Age," etc. Mrs Lewis of Cambridge contributes an excellent article on a subject of which she is eminently entitled to speak—"Palestinian Syriac Lectionaries of the Bible." Mr J. Scott

¹ By the late E. M. Goulburn, D.D., sometime Dean of Norwich. London: John Murray, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 302. Price, 6s.

² London: Charles H. Kelly. Price, 2s. 6d.

Lidgett writes with force and insight on the "Present Crisis in the Church of England." Under the title of "The World of Books," a series of brief, carefully executed reviews of recent publications is given. The editor is to be congratulated on this first issue. Under his competent hands the magazine should have a useful and prosperous career before it.

The January number of the *American Journal of Psychology* for the current year opens with a long, elaborate, and interesting paper by Frederick E. Bolton, late Fellow in Psychology, Clark University, on *Hydro-Psychoses*. The object of the article is to "investigate the influence that water has exerted in shaping and moulding man's psychic organism." A mass of curious fact and equally curious inquiry is collected and registered. Evidences of man's pelagic origin drawn from his physical structure and instinctive movements, animal retrogressions to aquatic life, water in primitive conceptions of life, water in philosophical speculation, sacred waters, water deities, water in literature, children's animistic conceptions of water—these are among the subjects dealt with. Even the statistics of suicide are introduced, and made available to prove a fundamental psychic difference between men and women. Men prefer active methods of making away with themselves, while women prefer passive. Many more women than men commit suicide by taking poison. This, according to Dr Chamberlain, is an atavistic tendency, women having been the earliest agriculturists, and having first learned the use of vegetables as articles of diet, curatives, and agents of destruction. But in India six out of every seven women who commit suicide have recourse to drowning. There are also some dubious speculations on baptism and the belief in the resurrection of the dead. The idea of resurrection, *e.g.*, is supposed to have grown, in part, out of the common observation of plant life, and to have been connected with the idea of water as the great agent of rejuvenescence.

In the *Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review* for January we notice in particular a curious paper by Robert Hind on *Telepathy in relation to Theological Investigation*, a careful article by W. John Davies on *Ritschl's Theology: its Import and Influence*, and another by W. A. Hammond on *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*. Mr Walsh is praised for the noble service he has done the country "by presenting in clear, forcible, succinct form, the origin, growth, and present position of this Romeward Movement." The elements of value in Ritschl's theology are frankly recognised. But it is urged against him that "his theory of knowledge vitiates much of his thinking; that his method of trying to keep reason out of theology is arbitrary; that his attempt to restrict all revelation to the historic Christ, to the exclusion of natural religion and mysti-

cism, is narrowly dogmatic; and that his conclusions often contradict what appears to be the plain meaning of the Scriptures."

In the January number of *The Churchman*, of which Archdeacon Sinclair is editor, Chancellor Lias continues his series of papers on the authorship of the Pentateuch; the Rev. N. Dimock gives a further part of a careful study of the *Sacerdotium of Christ*, dealing with the typical shadow in relation to the great reality, and Mr John Alt Porter writes interestingly of the office and work of the "archpriest."

The fourth number of the first volume of the *Archiv für die Religionswissenschaft*, ably edited by Dr Ths. Achelis, of Bremen, contains several articles of much value, among which may be specially mentioned Professor C. P. Tiele's adverse criticism of Darmesteter's revolutionary theory of the age of the Avesta, a Note by A. V. Williams Jackson on the Amshashpands, and a short paper by Dr Th. Nöldeke on "*Gottesfurcht*" bei dem alten Arabern. In the third number will be found the conclusion of an important study by E. Siecke of the God Rudra in the Rig-Veda, another by M. Hartmann on the religious life in the Libyan Desert, and a third by H. Gunkel on the man with the inkhorn in Ezekiel ix. 2.

The *Antiquary*,¹ the well-known Journal devoted to the study of the past, has entered its twentieth year. Its January number is admirably illustrated, as the magazine usually is, and provides much good and varied matter. Of special interest are the papers by W. Carew Hazlitt and Mrs Basil Holmes, the former giving further contributions toward a history of earlier education in Great Britain, the latter dealing with the haunts of the London Quakers.

The *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*² has reached its tenth year. It is ably conducted by Professor Gustav Holzhauser, of Munich, who has the assistance of Dr von Buchrucker, of Munich, Professor Zahn, of Erlangen, and a large number of scholars of repute in different parts of Germany. It stands fast by the Confessional Theology of the Lutheran Church, and has done justice to the school which it specially represents. The first part for 1899 contains three papers of some importance. Of these special attention should be given to an elaborate study of the term *Paganus* by Professor Zahn. He points out that, while much has been written on the origin, primary sense, and history of the word *χριστιανοί*, comparatively little has been done in investigating the origin and primary sense of the word *Pagani* which was applied to the adherents of the polytheistic religions by the Christians of the Latin West and the Romansh peoples. In this article he makes an erudite contribution to the subject.

¹ London: Elliot Stock. 6d.

² Erlangen und Leipzig: Deichzig. In monthly parts. Price, M.2.50 per quarter.

The second number of the second year of *La Liberté Chrétienne*,¹ edited by MM. Jules Bovon, Philippe Bridel and Lucien Gautier, opens with a very judicious paper by M. Ernest Martin on the spirit in which the New Testament should be studied.

We welcome a new series of *The Educational Review*.² The opening number (January 1899) has much varied and useful matter—notes and topics, University letters, correspondence, reviews of books, answers to correspondents, etc., in addition to five short articles on subjects of general educational interest. Mr Percy A. Barnett writes well on *Atmosphere and Perspective in Education*, Dr Sophie Bryant on *Order and Freedom in School Discipline*. The last paper is on the question—*Is there a Religious Question in Education?* Canon Lyttelton, the head master of Hailebury College, makes a kindly but not very successful attempt to convince us that if there is such a difficulty at all, it is a “very small one”—so small that he thinks “it might almost be maintained that there is none at all.” The Canon is in happy ignorance of how the shoe pinches in thousands of English parishes.

Professor D. G. Ritchie contributes a very interesting paper to the January number of *Mind on Philosophy and the Study of Philosophers*. He deals with the conviction to which the average scientific specialist is accustomed to give expression that metaphysical studies are futile, and with the fact that philosophy, especially in its German home, has become so largely the study of its own history. His object is to show that “the nature of philosophy itself may render inevitable this perpetual recurrence to the thought of the past, and that there are “special reasons in our own age why this historical interest should be predominant.” In working out his subject he discusses the three main attitudes to the doctrines of the older philosophers—the attitude of submission to authority, seen specially in scholasticism; the attitude of revolt against authority, represented specially by Bacon and Descartes; and the attitude expressed by Hegel, which means that there is but one philosophy manifesting itself in the succession of systems, so that the history of philosophy is an integral part of philosophy itself. It is “philosophy taking its time.” This third attitude is the one that is coming more and more to be the attitude of the present day, and rightly so, the writer thinks, although it was presented in exaggerated form in Hegel.

There is much good matter in the recent issues of the *Indian Evangelical Magazine*.³ In the last number for 1898, the Editor, Dr K. S. Macdonald, reviews Tiele's *Science of Religion*, and

¹ Lausanne: Bridel et Cie.

² London: Office of the Educational Review, 203 Strand. Monthly. Price, 4d.

³ Calcutta: Traill & Co.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

Professor Shastri, of the Presidency College, Calcutta, gives an account of the discovery of a Buddhist MS. of the first century of our era. In the first issue for 1899, the Rev. J. A. Joyce, of Murshadabad, writes on the doctrine of the *Trinity*, meeting certain objections current among Hindus and Mohammedans, and expounding the points in which the Christian doctrine of God is higher and richer than that of the Indian books and that of the Koran.

The *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*¹ begins its ninth year with an article by Erich Foerster which fills the whole number. It is entitled *Das Christenthum der Zeitgenossen*, and gives an interesting summary and criticism of the attitudes of representative men of the present day in law, literature, and politics to the Christian religion. Much space is devoted to Bismarck. Among others who receive particular attention are Friedrich Paulsen, Paul Heyse, Gottfried Keller, Gustav Freytag, Friedrich Spielhagen, W. Jordan, E. Curtius, etc.

Dr W. Garden Blaikie contributes a short but interesting paper on Massillon to the March number of the *Homiletic Review*, and Dr J. H. W. Stuckenberg begins a series on *Present Theological Tendencies*. In the first article he deals with "international characteristics of the age which are not themselves theological, but which have a determining influence on theology." Among these he takes *Science* first, and under that head specially the effort to find a substitute for design or teleology, providence, and miracle. From that he passes to *Speculative Philosophy*, and in particular the teaching of Kant. He notices also the effect of the practical movements of the age, and refers to the forces of reaction. He considers the deepest and most characteristic tendency of the age to be the demand for *Objective Realism*, by which he means that "our age is intent on what is not merely subjective, as faith or opinion or conviction, but what has actual existence outside of the mind," so that in religion and theology the great question is "whether the objects of faith really exist."

The *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique*,² published by the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, prints a hitherto unpublished letter by Cardinal Newman, recommending the enforcement of positive truth as the best and most convincing method for the Catholic disputant to follow in dealing with atheistic attacks on the faith. He adds, however, that this may not suit the great multitude of men, who cannot be said to be "men of good will." The mass of men, he says, "have very acute apprehensions of arguments in detail which are derived from *sight*, *reason*, and *experience*, and it is on these that the 'new faith' is built." The way to adopt

¹ Freiburg i. B. : Mohr. Monthly. Price, M.1.50.

² No. 1. Janvier, 1899. Paris : Lecoffre.

with them, therefore, is to show "how weak the arguments are" on which the "foi nouvelle" is founded, "how badly its champions reason, how many and monstrous are their assumptions, how audacious their statements, how unscrupulous they are in inventing first principles, how many links are wanting in their chain of proof." The second number contains a series of brief notes and criticisms, and two articles of some interest, viz., one by R. P. Lagrange entitled *L'esprit traditionnelle et l'esprit critique*, dealing specially with the origins of the Vulgate, and another by Léonce Couture on the *History of Theology*.

In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for January 1899, Professor Gerhard Vos continues his series of papers on *Recent Criticism of the Early Prophets*, his subject being *Isaiah*. Among other things he endeavours to show that "the interpretation of chaps. xxviii.-xxx. in their integrity, not only leaves room for but distinctly brings out the thought that Jehovah's wonderful dealings with Jerusalem are intended to lead to her conversion," while the critically-reconstructed text of these chapters "certainly does not read as a preparation for a call to repentance," but strikes the note of absolute "reprobation." Professor Dosker continues his articles on *John of Barneveldt*. There are elaborate papers also by Professor Henry Collin Minton on *Christianity and the Cosmic Philosophy*, and Professor W. Brenton Greene on *The Metaphysics of Christian Apologetics*, which deserve special attention. The particular subject of Professor Greene's paper is *Immortality*, the philosophy of which question is handled with great ability. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body is briefly discussed at the close of the article. The doctrine is allowed to be less clear than that of the soul's immortality. But it is shown to be not inconceivable, though mysterious; to have at least partial analogies in both nature and life; and to find a measure of support not only in certain moral implications, but in the affirmations of materialistic science on the persistence of the living germ, and its power, under 'favourable conditions,' of "surrounding itself with a new body." We have also a careful and appreciative study of *Schleiermacher* by the Rev. James Lindsay, and a detailed and acute criticism of Herbert Spencer by Dr D. S. Gregory.

Professor E. L. Curtis contributes a short but interesting paper on *The Outlook in Theology* to the January number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. His view is that we are becoming "empiricists, even in our theological reasoning"; that we have already changed much; that we do not understand "creation, inspiration, atonement, divine revelation, even the deity of Christ and the Trinity of God" exactly as our fathers did; that we are hesitating what to put in the place of the old conceptions and terms; that "no one,

perhaps, can definitely state what the new definitions or doctrines will be; that perhaps they will never be drawn very rigidly." Among other interesting papers in this number we may refer to one, mainly historical, on the *Philosophical Disintegration of Islam* by the Rev. Henry Woodward Hulbert, another by the Rev. James Lindsay on *Christianity and Idealism*, and a third by Dr Calvin B. Hulbert on the *Nature of the Divine Indwelling*. Dr Hulbert's paper makes much of "the law of the spirit of life," holding that to be as imperative as a law in nature. He points out that the error of *illuminati* who have arisen from time to time and of various religious sects, has been due to "the failure to see that the Spirit does His work in the hearts of men, not by contravening or overriding law, but in exact adherence to it."

*Theologia Pectoris*¹ is the title given to a volume by Dr James Muscutt Hodgson, Principal of the Theological Hall of the Congregational Churches of Scotland. Its sub-title explains it to be "Outlines of Religious Faith and Doctrine, founded on Intuition and Experience." Its object is to "present in outline what appear to the writer to be the true foundations and the essential elements of Religious Faith." Its method is to discard "the conception of any purely objective authority to which, in the first instance, appeal must be made in support of that which is accepted as true, and good, and Divine." And what it seeks to do is to "show that the chief ideas and affirmations of Christian doctrine are not only consistent with, but are implied in and demanded by the essential principles of Human Nature." It is necessary to have regard to the author's declared methods and aims in reading the book. Otherwise we shall form an idea of his doctrinal position which may do him injustice. Among the subjects which he discusses are the nature of man, the psychology of theism, the media of revelation, the meaning of the miraculous, the nature of inspiration, the grounds of certitude, the nature, penalty, and healing of sin, etc. The best parts of the book seem to us to be the more strictly apologetic; the least successful, the more properly doctrinal. Dr Hodgson says much that is true and good on the fundamental problems, the Theistic question, the idea and the modes of Revelation. On the place of the miraculous he holds by the familiar position that, if we once recognise Christianity to be a religion of redemption, then the "miracles that Christ performed, and the miracle of His Resurrection from the dead, so far from presenting any difficulty, fall naturally into place as incidents of a miraculous, historical interposition on behalf of a being who, by his sin, had placed himself in an abnormal position." On the ideals of personal life and social life he also writes well.

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 207. Price, 3s. 6d.

It is when we come to such questions as the penalty of sin, the nature of forgiveness, the meaning of Christ's mediation, that we have less satisfaction. The influence of writers like Thomas Erskine, and that influence on its weaker side, is seen in much that is said on these subjects. Dr Hodgson appears to be possessed with an extraordinary repugnance to the introduction of anything like the idea of law into the theology of Christ's work. He has also an exaggerated and mistaken conception of what that idea means to those who hold it to belong to the question. He goes the length of speaking of the notion of a satisfaction to Divine Justice, as a "non-Scriptural, and in reality a purely pagan idea." He forgets himself entirely when he allows himself to say that "the forensic theology has taught men to think of God as a veritable Shylock, who must have His pound of flesh before what is called His Justice, or the claims of His Law can be satisfied." This is a cheap and easy way of settling matters, but not one worthy of a responsible theologian. It is difficult to suppose anyone expressing himself in this way, who knows the great and serious works of the best representatives of the so-called "forensic" theology in Puritan or in later times, or, for that matter, has studied the Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles which we owe to the real masters in scientific exegesis in our own day. The great ideas, conveyed by the terms "imputation," "expiation," fare equally ill at Dr Hodgson's hands. The mediatorial work of Christ, too, is reduced to a "revelation of the love of our Father God—a love which seeks to rescue us from our sin and its curse, a love that will spare no pains and no suffering that may be needed to secure the end desired,—but also finds in the spiritual life of which Christ is the Source and the Giver, the Power whereby we are renewed in the spirit of our minds, and transformed more and more completely into His likeness." This is true, and it is accepted so far as it goes by all evangelical theologians, and not least by those who regard Christ's work as an expiation. But the question remains whether this is the whole New Testament view of Christ's mediation. It would be poor comfort to many a burdened conscience, if it were all.

There is a certain vagueness and intangibility in much that is affirmed in this book. The great questions of faith and doctrine are handled too exclusively on the subjective side. The unfortunate result of the method is that the treatment of Christian doctrine is almost all on the side of intuition, and of what commends itself to the individual consciousness as true, the actual teaching of Scripture receiving only the scantiest attention. Nothing but good, however, can be said of the general spirit of the book, which is grave and serious. Many of its statements, too, are just and helpful. It has some omissions which surprise us. Neither the Trinity nor the

Work of the Spirit receives any definite treatment. With all deductions, however, it deserves acknowledgment as a thoughtful and reverent attempt to exhibit the fundamentals of religion and the central doctrines of Christianity as worthy of acceptance for their intrinsic merit, and as verifying their claims by the relation in which they stand to nature, consciousness, and experience.

We have received a *Dialogue on Moral Education*,¹ a lively book by Mr F. H. Matthews, M.A., head master of Bolton Grammar School, in which some good things are said, especially on the subject of the relations in which teachers and pupils should stand to each other, and the great advantage which Universities have in the matter of the moral training of youth; a new and cheaper edition of the Rev. Dr G. S. Barrett's suggestive book on *The Intermediate State and the Last Things*,² which has been already noticed with favour in these pages³; a new issue also of Dr W. T. Davison's admirable book on *The Praises of Israel*,⁴ one of the best volumes in the series of *Books for Bible Students*, and one of the most interesting as well as thoroughly-informed and reliable popular Introductions to the Psalter—a book which it is a pleasure to read and which is enriched by an Appendix of valuable Notes describing each Psalm; the ninth volume of the *Preacher's Magazine*,⁵ which continues to be conducted with great ability by the editors, Mark Guy Pearse and Arthur E. Gregory—a magazine full of matter of great use for preachers, teachers, and Bible students; a German translation of an interesting Norwegian address on the *Prophets of Israel*,⁶ delivered on the occasion of the Congress at Stockholm in Sept. 1897 by Professor S. Michelet, of the University of Christiania; an extremely handsome edition of William Law's *Serious Call*,⁷ one of the choicest classics of the literature of practical religion, a book which did much for the revival of religion when it was published in 1728, which can never cease to be a quickening book for souls who are led to make it their own, and which is now issued in this attractive form, with a preface and notes by Dr J. H. Overton, as one of the volumes of the *English Theological*

¹ London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 257. Price, 3s. 6d.

² London: Elliott Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 275.

³ Vol. VI. p. 321.

⁴ London: C. H. Kelly, 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 296 and xl. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁵ London: C. H. Kelly, 1898. 8vo, pp. 578. Price, 5s.

⁶ Israel's Propheten als Träger der Offenbarung. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 40. M.0.60.

⁷ A Serious Call to a devout and holy life. Adapted to the state and condition of all orders of Christians. By William Law, A.M. London: Macmillan & Co., 1898. 8vo, pp. xx. 313. Price, 8s. 6d. net.

Library edited by Mr Relton; the *Crucifixion of Phillip Strong*,¹ a book which never gets beyond the idea of an example in the view it takes of Christ, but is written with a certain straightforward force, and deals with certain great questions of life and duty, not profoundly by any means, but in a way to arrest attention and cause some searchings of heart; the *Father's Hand*,² a series of thoughtful and reverent discourses on God's work in its various aspects of slowness, swiftness, stillness, secrecy and the like, not claiming to give more than hints for life and service, but modest in spirit, simple in style, and likely both to help and to comfort; a Sermon, one of many called forth by the present ecclesiastical crisis in England, in which Archdeacon Furse sets forth briefly the idea and the duties of *A National Church*³; a pamphlet by the Rev. A. J. Carlyle, of University College, Oxford, on *Causes and Remedies of the Present Disorder in the Church of England*,⁴ clearly and tellingly written, arguing for a regulated liberty, and pleading for a reform of the judicial system and a reconstitution of convocation; an able and instructive discourse on *The Function of the historian as a judge of historic periods*,⁵ being the inaugural address delivered before the American Historical Association at Newhaven in January of this year by Professor George Park Fisher, of Yale; a bright and attractive sketch of *John Bunyan, the Glorious Dreamer*,⁶ by Lina Orman Cooper; another powerful story by Mr Charles M. Sheldon, *His Brother's Keeper*,⁷ the story of a great strike, which is made the means of bringing home to the public mind some of the great industrial and economic questions of the day; a volume by the Rev. A. Welch on *The Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews*⁸ attempting to make out the very unlikely supposition that Peter is the writer, containing also a number of papers on "Melchizedek," "Christ's object in preaching to the Spirits in Prison," and other subjects, in which some curious and acute, though not always convincing, reasoning will be found; two further instalments of Professor Kautzsch's translation and exposition to the *Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books of the Old Testament*, continuing the com-

¹ By Charles M. Sheldon. London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 267. Price, 2s.

² By the Rev. Adam Philip, M.A., Free Church, Longforgan. London: A. H. Stockwell & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 297. Price, 3s. 6d.

³ London: Macmillan, 1898. 8vo, pp. 16. Price, 6d.

⁴ Oxford: Parker, 1899. 8vo, pp. 23. Price, 6d.

⁵ Newhaven: Tuttle, Morehouse, & Taylor, 1899. 8vo, pp. 23.

⁶ London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 144. Price, 1s.

⁷ London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 281. Price, 1s.

⁸ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 214. Price, 3s. 6d.

mentary on the *First Book of Maccabees*,¹ and taking us over *Second* and *Third Maccabees*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, the *Prayer of Manasseh*, and part of the *Additions to Daniel*, of which we can only say at present that they are as well done as we found the first part to be, and make an important contribution to the interpretation of these interesting books; a new edition, revised and enlarged, of the *Presbyterian Forms of Service*,² a very useful help to worship, prepared by the Devotional Service Association in connection with the United Presbyterian Church; a volume of the *Modern Reader's Bible*,³ beautifully printed, handy and pleasing in form, which gives the stories of the Old Testament in modern literary style, edited with excellent taste by Professor R. Moulton, of Chicago, and furnished with useful notes and introduction; a German translation, revised by the author himself, of Professor Wildeboer's suggestive and scholarly tractate on the mutual relations of the *Worship of Jehovah and the Popular Religion in Israel*⁴; a revised and enlarged edition of Mr William Brown's well-known and useful book on the *Tabernacle*,⁵ full of information, furnished with illustrations which materially help the reader, and containing now some sixty pages of new matter which deal with the length of the Hebrew cubit, the difficulty as to the breadth of the house, the peregrinations of the Golden Candlestick, etc.; an acute and well-written address on *Paul as Missionary to the Gentiles*,⁶ by P. Wernle, Privatdocent in the University of Basle; a couple of Academic Lectures by Dr Georg Wobbermin, Privatdocent in the University of Berlin, on certain *Fundamental Problems of Systematic Theology*,⁷ dealing in an able and instructive way first with the proof of the truth of the Christian Religion, and then with the Object and Method of Evangelical Dogmatics, in connexion with which latter subject, the Christian consciousness, the teaching of Scripture, and the defini-

¹ Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments. Zweite Lieferung, pp. 33-64. Price, pf.50. Dritte bis sechste Lieferung, pp. 65-192. Price, pf.50 per Lieferung: Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898.

² Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 239.

³ Bible Stories (Old Testament). New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899. Small 4to, pp. 310. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁴ Jahve-Dienst und Volksreligion in Israel in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 44.

⁵ The Tabernacle and its Priests and Services, described and considered in relation to Christ and the Church. Sixth edition. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 315. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁶ Paulus als Heidenmissionar. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 36. Price, M.0.80.

⁷ Grundprobleme der Systematischen Theologie. Berlin: Duncker, 1899. 8vo, pp. 43. Price, M.1.

tions of the Creeds are carefully considered in their several relations as sources of a System of Dogmatics ; a pamphlet entitled *Faith in the Unbroken Apostolic Succession and its Natural Consequences*,¹ a series of short, temperately written letters dealing with the contradictions and inconsistencies of Ritualism ; a pamphlet by the Right Rev. C. W. Sandford, D.D., Bishop of Gibraltar, on *Confession*,² exhibiting in clear and concise terms what the teaching of the Church of England really is on the subject, and asking the serious attention of the members of that Church to the dangers of the practice of systematic private confession to a priest, and the "persistence with which it is pressed upon congregations" ; a volume of the *Biblical Museum*,³ giving a large and well-selected collection of Notes of various kinds, explanatory, homiletic, and illustrative, on the Gospels according to Matthew and Mark—a publication which has been of much use to teachers of Sabbath Schools and Bible Classes, and which is now to be had at the extremely small price of 1s. per volume ; a book bearing the title of *Tracings from the Gospel of John, or Records of the Incarnate Word*,⁴ consisting of a series of studies of the Fourth Gospel, which give the results of much earnest reflection in a terse and pointed form, and bring out the meaning of John's narrative, together with its main spiritual lessons, in direct application to personal life and duty ; a handy and timely reprint of the trenchant letters on *Lawlessness in the National Church*,⁵ contributed to the *Times* by Sir William Vernon Harcourt, which have a special value on the legal side of the question at issue between the two great parties in the Church of England as by law established ; a further instalment of Professor Godet's *Introduction to the New Testament*,⁶ dealing with Matthew's Gospel, which must receive more extended notice than is at present possible, and of which it must suffice to say meantime that in lucidity of style, historical method, critical insight and sobriety of judgment, it is worthy of the reputation which the veteran author has long and justly enjoyed.

The eighth volume of the fifth series of the *Expositor*,⁷ which is now in the hands of the public, is in no whit behind the earlier

¹ By A. J. London : Elliot Stock, 1899. 8vo, pp. 40. Price, 1s.

² London : Macmillan, 1899. 8vo, pp. 28. Price 6d. net.

³ By James Comper Gray. Vol. I. London : Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 376. Price, 1s.

⁴ By C. E. Stuart, author of "Outlines of the Epistle to the Romans," etc. London : Marlborough & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 432. Price, 5s.

⁵ London : Macmillan & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. 156. Price 1s. net.

⁶ Introduction au Nouveau Testament, par F. Godet. Introduction Particulière. II. Première Partie : Les Trois Premiers Évangiles. 2^{me} Livraison. Neuchâtel : Attinger, 1898. 8vo, pp. 137-324.

⁷ London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1899. Pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

volumes. Old Testament and New Testament questions receive each their due, and there is a sufficient representation of subjects of a more general interest. A large place is assigned to New Testament exegesis, and we are glad to see that it is so. A special value is given to this volume by Professor Ramsay's very instructive papers on the Epistle to the Galatians. Professor Zahn's Articles on the history and the interpretation of the Apostles' Creed are also a feature of the volume. And there are papers of much interest by Professor Cheyne, Professor Rendel Harris, Professor Jannaris (who says a good many things deserving consideration on certain misreadings and misrenderings in the New Testament), Mr Buchanan Gray, Dr Peter Forsyth, and others. The student of Scripture has one of his best aids in the *Expositor*.

An opportune time has been chosen for the publication of a translation of the famous treatise by John of Damascus on *Holy Images*.¹ The Damascene's polemic is of great historical as well as dogmatic interest. It deserves attention for its argument, its style, and its effects. There is much in it indeed that must seem strange to the nineteenth-century reader, and it follows modes of reasoning which are at times far apart from the stringent, scientific methods of our day. But it is concerned with great principles which are never wholly in abeyance, and which have been suddenly thrust of late into an unusual and unmistakable prominence with the English public—principles touching the proper relations between the Church authority and the civil, the point at which the lawful and the unlawful part company in matters ecclesiastical, and the distinction between the spiritual and the idolatrous in worship. The Sermon on the *Assumption* will appeal to a smaller class. We shall not give the same answer as is given by the translator to the question—Which is the shortest way to God? "St John Damascene," she tells us, "speaks with the Church when he says it is through the glorification of matter in the Person of the Eternal Word. Either give matter its proper place, or take away matter which the Lord has Himself exalted, and we are no longer composite beings, but spirits ill at ease in a material world. Take away the King's army, and you uncrown the King Himself. Forget His Mother, and with her the connecting link between earth and heaven. Then we may be heathens once more, groping after the unknown God, and our latter state will be more appalling than the heathendom of old, before the light had appeared to illumine earth's dark places." We have our own opinion of what this way of looking at the great interests of

¹ St John Damascene on Holy Images, followed by Three Sermons on the Assumption, by Mary H. Allies. London: Thomas Baker, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 216.

faith involves. But we gladly acknowledge the good work of the translator in this volume.

Dr Horton's volume on *The Commandments of Jesus*,¹ is in some sense a supplement to his book on the *Teaching of Jesus*. It is due to the conviction which grew on Dr Horton that "the *Commandments of Jesus*, as a rule of life and as the principle of ethics, required a separate and more careful treatment." The subject is a large and inviting one, but by no means a very easy one. It is handled here under such topics as "Repent," which is termed the first Commandment; "Follow Me," which is termed the second Commandment; the "Codified Law" or the "Five Precepts" (*i.e.* the five re-readings of the Mosaic regulations); "Judge Not"; the "Golden Rule"; "Go and do likewise," etc. The style is always terse and clear. The interpretation of Christ's words is given in popular form, but is founded on careful and exact study. The application of it to the ordinary life is never lost sight of, and is uniformly direct and pointed. The book is one which, we hope, will find many readers. It puts those great, yet simple precepts of life which fell from our Lord's lips impressively and convincingly, at once in their grace and in their searching imperativeness. The general principle of the exposition may be gathered from these sentences:—"It has been said that Jesus Christ is the incarnate conscience of the race. His precepts are the dictates of the purified conscience. His person is the power of keeping the precepts. The human conscience suffers not only from blindness, but from infirmity. . . . Our Lord not only frees the direction of moral precepts, and brings them into clear and simple lines, but, what is of even greater moment, He presents in Himself a potency of fulfilment. In Him our conscience has strength as it has right, power as it has manifest authority. In obedience to Him, therefore, has lain for these nineteen centuries, and must still lie, the hope of conscience absolutely governing the world."

The Rev. Hubert Handley, M.A., Vicar of St Thomas's, Camden Town, gives us *A Short Way out of Materialism*.² It makes but a few pages of large, readable type. It is made so very brief for a purpose—that it may be read perchance by busy men, who may be in "the gloomy cells of negation," and yet have no time to read the great idealist philosophies. We hope it may arrest the attention of such men. It will help them. Its object is to show, by a few simple reasonings, how the world of sight is dependent on the seer, and the world of hearing on the hearer; so that should we perish, *our earth, our sun, our planets* would perish with us, and *matter* should be seen not to be the "hard, rigid, invariable, indestructible

¹ London: Isbister & Co., 1898. Crown 8vo, pp. 375. Price, 6s.

² London: Rivington's, 1899. 8vo, pp. 11. Price, 1s. net.

stuff which common speech suggests and materialistic intellectual habits insist."

Professor James Orr, of Edinburgh, publishes a course of three Lectures on *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity*.¹ They were delivered originally as the Morgan Lecture Course in the Theological Seminary of Auburn, in the State of New York, in October 1897. They have the attraction of comparative novelty in their subject, and they succeed in presenting some things in a very forcible way, which have not obtained the consideration due them. The matters handled concern the extension of Christianity in the Roman Empire, laterally or numerically, vertically or as respects the different strata of society, and intensively or in respect of penetrative influence on the thought and life of the Empire.

Under each of these heads, Professor Orr marshals a considerable body of facts, pointing to a revision or modification of current ideas. He takes, *e.g.*, the estimates made by Gibbon, Friedländer, Chastel, Victor Schultze, and others, on the subject of the size of the Christian population in Constantine's time; and from the Catacombs (a line of evidence which has certainly been far from adequately used), and from ancient literature, Eastern and Western, he brings together a formidable array of testimonies which go to show that Christianity at the end of the third century must have constituted much more than the twentieth or even the tenth part of the population, which is all that most historians have allowed. Evidence almost equally strong is presented next in support of the contention that the higher classes of society came under the influence of Christianity earlier and in larger measure than is usually admitted, and also that the general thought and life of the early centuries were affected much more deeply by it than is usually acknowledged. The book is full of interest. The facts are carefully collected, and strikingly put. Most readers will feel that Dr Orr has made a strong case, and has placed the early career of Christianity in some respects in a new light.

The death of Principal Caird deprived the Scottish pulpit of one of its chief ornaments. Few preachers in our day have stepped so early into fame or have maintained their reputation and power unimpaired for so long a period. Everything that Dr Caird gave to the public in the form of sermons has been eminently worth having, and it is with peculiar pleasure that a new volume containing a series of *University Sermons*² is received. These discourses were all preached before the University of Glasgow, but only two of them have been published hitherto. In point of delivery they

¹ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 235. Price, 3s. 6d.

² By John Caird, D.D., LL.D., late Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: Maclehose & Son, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 402. Price, 6s. net.

extend over a considerable period—from 1873 to 1898. They now appear under the editorial superintendence of the no less distinguished brother, the Master of Balliol. They have for their themes such subjects as the new birth, corporate immortality, truth and freedom, the profit of godliness, art and religion, and such questions as these—What is Religion? Can righteousness be imputed? Is repentance ever impossible? They have the supreme qualities of strength, mass, and a logic touched by imagination and kindling into fire. They are packed with thought, and make a continuous appeal to reason and religious experience. And beyond all else that gives them distinction, they have the magic of the orator. None of these noble discourses deserve closer attention than those in which Dr Caird deals with the distinctive Christian doctrines or with the more characteristic positions of Evangelical Theology. The question of the "New Birth," *e.g.*, is treated in a very masterly way. Its difficulties are fairly stated and answered. Its right to be accepted, not as a merely speculative dogma, but as a truth which lies "at the very root of the religious life, and the reception of which is of infinite importance for every human soul" is affirmed. And the conviction is expressed that there is not implied in it any "repression of our individuality and freedom," but that on the contrary the recognition of the absolute dominion and control of the human spirit by the divine is not paralysis, but the intensest stimulus to spiritual activity." Still better, perhaps, is the argument by which it is shown that justification by faith, rightly apprehended, is no mere theological dogma, "foreign to our human sympathies and moral experience," but a "doctrine which is in profound adaptation to our spiritual nature and needs, and into which with deepest moral and spiritual sympathy every devout soul may enter."

A series of addresses, prepared at first for a "Summer Meeting of Clergy," has been issued by the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Oxford. The title of the volume is *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life*.¹ The subjects specially discussed are the organisation of the Primitive Church, the nature of the Apostolic rule, the theories of the Christian Ministry, the Sacramental Principle, the position of the Early Christians in relation to the Roman Government and the surrounding Paganism, the task of the first Apologists, etc. The book is a most readable one, and it gives a great deal of information which is interesting in itself and very attractively presented. It opens up some important lines of inquiry, and shows large acquaintance with authorities, especially English authorities. It looks at all things from the Anglican point

¹ By William Bright, D.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 268. Price, 6s.

of view, and in that respect there is a distinctly provincial note in it. But it states the peculiarly Anglican views of Church order and Church claims in a comparatively sober and conciliatory way. As regards Episcopacy, Dr Bright's object is to show it to have been a true development. An attempt is made now and again, and not with the best success, to grapple with Dr Hort's exposition of the New Testament view of the *ecclesia*, and to turn the edge of his argument. On the other hand, there are some good paragraphs on the position of laymen, their interest in discipline, their relation to synods, etc. The conclusion given is that the primitive status of the laity was unlike the modern Roman, but also unlike the Anglican under conditions of Establishment. The general view which the book presents of the spread of Christian influence, the state of the Christian society, the effects of the persecutions, and the like, is excellent. We find much in it with which we are in sympathy, and a few things which seem to us overstrained in a particular ecclesiastical interest. Whether agreeing with its statements or dissenting from them, those who take it up will read it through and confess themselves Dr Bright's debtors.

The author of a volume on *The Soul Here and Hereafter*¹ seeks for "a keynote to the preparation" which he feels sure there must have been "among the people that 'sat in darkness' waiting through the ages for the coming of the Son of Man." He thinks it is to be found "in the teaching of antiquity—and especially of Plato—on friendship." This being his view, he naturally gives a large place to such topics as the ancient ideas of friendship, Greek, Roman, and Hebrew; the Platonic doctrines of the soul and of love; Plato's ideal friendship; the teaching of the *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium*; the illustrations of Platonic love furnished by the writings of saints, etc. But he also goes into other questions, some of a more general kind and some of a more theological order. He reviews the arguments for the immortality of the soul, the discussions on the relation of soul and spirit, the problems of original sin, and the soul's condition after death.

The book is lacking in scientific method and in the art of distinguishing between things that differ. It does not show sufficient acquaintance with the best authorities in theology and in the exegesis of Scripture. It is strongly Sacramentarian, affirming indeed that "the voice of Christendom tells us that there are seven Sacraments." It is nervously afraid of saying anything "contrary to the common teaching of Catholic Christendom," and wishes at once to withdraw and retract any such thing if it is discovered. Not much is to be expected from a method and a spirit so dependent. There are chapters, however, in which some curious and interesting matter is given.

¹ By R. E. Hutton, Chaplain of St Margaret's, East Grinstead. London: Longmans, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 258. Price, 6s.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

- BARTON, W. E. *The Psalms and their Story: A Study of the Psalms as related to Old Testament History.* 2 vols. Boston: Pilgrim Press. 12mo, pp. xii. 249, ix. 267. \$2.50.
- OTTLEY, R. L. *The Hebrew Prophets.* (Oxford Church Text-Book.) London: Rivington's. 18mo, pp. 128. 1s.
- Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the Translations of Aquila. Edited by F. C. Burkitt. Without Facsimiles. 4to. Cambridge University Press. 2s. 6d.
- LIDZBARSKI, M. *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik nebst ausgewählten Inschriften.* 2. Tle. Berl.: E. Felber. 8vo, pp. xiv. 508. M.30.
- SMITH, Prof. Henry Preserved. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel* (International Critical Commentary). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xxix. 421. 12s.
- BERTHOLET, Alfred. *Zu Jesaja 53. Ein Erklärungsversuch.* Freiburg i. B.: Mohr. 8vo, pp. 32. Pf.75.
- WILDEBOER, Prof. D. G. *Jahvedienst und Volksreligion in Israel in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis.* Freiburg i. B.: Mohr. 8vo, pp. 44.
- KRENGEL, J. *Das Hausgerät in der Misnah.* 1. Tl. Frankf. a. M.: J. Kauffmann. 8vo, pp. ii. 68. M.2.50.
- GREEN, W. H. *General Introduction to the Old Testament: The Canon.* New York: C. Scribner's Sons. 12mo, pp. xvii. 209. \$1.50.
- JELF, George Edward. "Messiah Cometh," the Witness, the Welcome, and the Warning of the Old Testament Scriptures. London: Innes. 8vo, pp. xv. 372. 7s. 6d.
- BROWN, William. *The Tabernacle and its Priests and Services described and considered in relation to Christ and the Church.* Sixth Edition. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 315. 3s. 6d.
- WINCKLER, H. *Altorientalische Forschungen.* 2. Reihe. 1. Bd. 4 Hft. (X. der ganzen Folge.) 4. Zeit u. Verfasser des Kohelet.—Gog.—Ps. 22.—Zur Hammustu.—Aus dem Archiv. v. Nineve. Lpzg.: E. Pfeiffer. 8vo, pp. iii. 143-192. M.3.
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**A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language,
Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical
Theology.**

Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., and, chiefly in the revision of the proofs, of A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh; S. R. Driver, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford; H. B. Swete, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Vol. II., Feign-Kinsman. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1899. 4to, pp. xv. 870. Price, 28s.

THIS second instalment of the *Dictionary of the Bible* will be warmly welcomed and eagerly scrutinised by students. And certainly no disappointment will be felt by those who make themselves familiar with its contents, even by those who measure it by the high standard of excellence reached in the first volume of the work. In some respects, indeed, it even surpasses its predecessor. There is the same splendid editorial ability, the same exhaustive treatment in the more important subjects, the same scholarly exactness bestowed on the minor ones, and breathing through all the same reverence of spirit and fearless love of truth. But, besides, some of the articles are of pre-eminent merit, and form original contributions of the highest value. The length, indeed, to which many of the articles run may be complained of as excessive. We have, for example, a very elaborate article on "Genealogy," extending over sixteen double column pages, by Professor E. L. Curtis, not likely to be read by many except those who have a call to read it. But there are students of this branch of inquiry, and their case must be provided for. And it seems reasonable when specialists are asked to contribute that they should be allowed full scope in communicating the results of their investigations. The large space given to the articles on the words of the English Bible is, I think, more open to criticism. These are by the editor, and they are always interesting and instructive, and show a large acquaintance with old writers. But the quotations are too numerous, and swell the bulk of the book unnecessarily; and it seems out of proportion to devote five pages to the senses of the word "Go" in the English version of the Bible, while the article on "The History of Israel" receives only nine or ten.

In giving some account of the contents of this volume, it will not

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be possible to do more than call attention to a few of the more notable articles. Most people will admit that the chief value after all of a work of this sort must lie in the character of its mass of short articles on subjects of minor importance on which accurate information is desired. The excellence of these in the volume before us is beyond all praise. No name occurs so frequently in this connection as that of the Rev. J. A. Selbie, M.A. His contributions form a valuable part of the work.

To begin with subjects that are indirectly related to Bible science proper, we have an article by Professor Macalister on "Food," occupying sixteen pages, full of curious and interesting information on the vegetables, animals, etc., that constituted the food-stuffs of the Hebrews. Valuable geographical articles are contributed by Lieut.-Col. Conder ("Jerusalem"), by Col. Sir C. Warren ("Jordan"), and by the Rev. S. Merrill, D.D. ("Galilee").

The "Geology of Palestine" is written by Professor E. Hull. The three articles on "Galatia," "Galatia, Region of," and "Galatians," by Professor W. M. Ramsay, will be welcomed by those who are exercised over the question regarding the locale of the churches to which the Epistle is addressed.

In Biblical Psychology Professor Laidlaw has articles on "Flesh," "Heart," "Inner Man," "Image." They are models in their way, short, but packed with meaning, and fitted to be useful to students. The same may be said of the articles on Eschatology ("Hades," "Heaven," "Hell," etc., by Principal Salmond, who by the way omits mention of his own classic work on "Immortality" in his enumeration of authorities. This reserve is not practised by other writers, but should not the editor supply the lack?

Of the more theological articles, those on the "Holy Spirit," the "Incarnation," the "Kingdom of God," and "Children of God," will attract special attention. The first is by Professor Swete, whose intimate knowledge of the history of the doctrine gives great value to his contribution. Some may be of opinion that the doctrinal method of exposition which the author pursues is less fruitful of results than a more biblical way of treating the subject would have been, such as Gunkel's little book on the Pauline doctrine of the "Holy Spirit" is a specimen of—a work which is not mentioned by the author in his account of literature. Professor Ottley's article on the "Incarnation" is admirable for the full account it gives of the aspects under which the higher nature of Christ is viewed in the Epistles of the New Testament. Especially good is his exposition of the Lordship of Christ. The article does not enter on the theological questions relating to the Person of Christ; but nothing could be better as a statement of the New Testament doctrine. The "Kingdom of

God" is treated by Professor Orr in an article at once full, comprehensive, and up-to-date. On the use that has been made of this idea by those who have in recent years done much to restore it to its place in religious thought, Dr Orr says, "it must remain doubtful how far the idea of the Kingdom is fitted to serve as a principle of an exhaustive system of Theology." "But," he adds, "it is fitted to render service as the bond of union between dogmatic theology and Christian ethics"; and "the social tendencies of our age give it a special value for our own time." Readers will turn with melancholy interest to the article "Children of God," written by the late Professor Candlish, one of the most loveable of men and one of the ablest of theologians. Dr Candlish had pre-eminent qualifications for dealing with this subject, and his article is a most weighty one. It may be remarked that the view he advocates of the New Testament doctrine of man's sonship to God, on grounds that seem to me indisputable, was the view that commended itself to the late Dr Dale in his latter days as the most conformable to Scripture. (See his "Life," pages 654-5).

The articles dealing with the subjects that belong to the department of Introduction are numerous, and are furnished by scholars whose names are a guarantee for the excellence of their work. "Genesis" is done by Professor Ryle; "Habakkuk" by Professor Driver; "Haggai" by Rev. G. A. Cooke; Professor König of Rostock writes on "Jonah" and "Judges"; Professor W. T. Davison is the author of a very readable article on "Job," and Professor Burney deals with "I. and II. Kings." No words are needed to commend the articles by Professor G. A. Smith on "Joshua" and "Isaiah." In the latter the author deals separately with chapters i.-xxxix. and xl.-lxvi., the ideas in each section calling for independent treatment. This necessitates the article being of unusual length, but no one can wish it shorter. "Hosea" and "Jeremiah" are from the pen of Professor A. B. Davidson, and, as one might expect, are particularly attractive. "Jeremiah" is a delightful piece of reading, and is full of light on the character of the prophet and on the ideas of the book. On the fragmentary nature of the prophecies that have come directly from Jeremiah's own hand, he finely remarks:—"We have no literature from Jeremiah in the sense in which we have literature from Isaiah. The flowers of Jeremiah's diction and thought have reached us only after being cut and pressed; the bloom and fragrance yet remaining with them suggest faintly what they were when fresh" (p. 576). The article "Hexateuch" is by Professor F. H. Woods, and is a treatment, showing great mastery of detail, of the composite character of the first six books of the O. T. His conclusion as to the historical worth of the narrative con-

tained in the Hexateuch is, that it has "but little to tell us of the early history of Israel, but much to tell us of the times in which the author lived" (p. 375). The article on the "History of Israel," by Dr W. E. Barnes, is a somewhat disappointing performance. It is brightly written, but slight, and scarcely what one might look for, considering all that has been done by criticism toward the reconstruction of O. T. history. The biographical article on "Isaac" is from the pen of Professor Ryle; those on "Jacob" and "Joseph" are by Professor Driver. With regard to the question how far the Patriarchs are historical characters, both writers hold that they *are* historical, and that the Bible accounts of them are in outline historically true, but that the characters are "idealised and their biographies are in many respects coloured by the feelings and associations of a later age" (p. 534). We would call special attention to the very helpful contribution to O. T. theology we have in Professor Skinner's article on "Holiness." Every sentence of it strikes light.

In the department of the New Testament the editor has been equally fortunate in securing the help and contributions of scholars who have in most cases made the subjects on which they write their own by life-long study. In his article on the "Gospels," Professor Stanton states the Synoptic Problem and the attempts toward its solution with great fulness and clearness. We have two articles on "John"—the one, on the Apostle, his life and theology, by Professor Strong, containing much fresh and original thinking; the other on the "Gospel," unusually long, being the longest but one in the volume, by the late Professor Reynolds. It forms a very valuable contribution to the subject, and is written with the splendour of diction and elevation of feeling by which the author was distinguished. Professor Dods writes on the Epistle to the "Galatians." The article is a short one, but all the main points are handled with a fulness as well as lucidity and force that leave nothing to be desired. "Hebrews" is by Dr A. B. Bruce, who writes with a genuine love of his subject, expounding the great ideas of the book in a way that is deeply impressive and instructive. He advocates the view that the epistle was originally addressed to Hebrew Christians in Palestine. The article on "James" is what might be expected from Professor Mayor, whose work on this Epistle is so well known. It contains a criticism of the view lately propounded by Spitta, that the Epistle is a Christian adaptation of a Jewish book written before the Christian era. Students of St John will find much to profit by in Principal Salmond's careful article on the Epistles. His exposition of the first Epistle and of the mode of thought characteristic of the author is specially helpful. Professor Chase gives a fresh interest to the epistle of "Jude" by pointing

out in detail the coincidences between it and the recently-discovered text of the Greek version of the Book of Enoch.

I must omit mention of the articles in New Testament Theology, that special reference may be made to two writers to whom every reader of the *Dictionary* must feel special indebtedness. They are Dr A. B. Davidson and Dr Sanday. They are towers of strength to the volume, and their contributions are a mine of wealth. Articles from their pen are scattered freely through the volume, but there are two in particular that will be read and re-read. The article "God" is the work of their joint authorship. Dr Davidson writes the first part on the Old Testament doctrine of God. It is a remarkable production, not only for the scientific precision of the thought and the firm, cautious step with which it advances from point to point, but also for its wonderful insight into the religion of the Old Testament, and its splendid survey of the course of the development of the religious idea among the Hebrews. He recognises three stages of the idea of God, each resulting in a clearer conception. The period from Exodus to the revolution of Jehu, when national expression was given to the faith that Jehovah was the God of Israel. The second, the prophetic period, when the popular conception of Jehovah as the national God came into conflict with the prophets' conception of Him as a purely ethical Being. And the third, from the destruction of the State onwards, when the prophetic truth about God, illustrated in national history, came to be "assimilated into personal experience, equated by reflection with the condition of the world, the state of the people, the life of the individual" (p. 202). The whole article is a brilliant one, and abounds in memorable sentences like these: "The Hebrew came down from the thought of God upon the world, he did not rise from the world up to the thought of God" (p. 196). "Each prophet has his own special truth about God to declare, and the truth is perhaps a reflection of his own kind of mind. But as the separate colours combine to form the pure light, all their separate truths unite to reveal the full nature of God, for it takes many human minds to make up the Divine mind" (p. 204). "Writers are agreed that ethical elements entered into the conception of Jehovah from the beginning. There was at least in His nature a crescent of light, which waxed till it overspread His face, and He was light, with no darkness at all" (p. 202). There are drawbacks about joint authorship; for one thing, there is apt to be a want of congruity of treatment; and we miss in Dr Sanday's treatment of the New Testament part of the subject the rigorous adherence to the historical method that is characteristic of Dr Davidson's part. There is a certain anxiety manifested to read later dogmatic

developments into New Testament statements. But he does good service by his exposition of the Pauline phrase, "the righteousness of God," and by his success in showing how, understood in the first instance as God's own personal righteousness, it came to have the special sense the argument of Paul seems to require us to give it, and to mean that condition of righteousness that is the gracious gift of God to man.

But Dr Sanday's claim on the gratitude of the reader is founded on his article "Jesus Christ." It is in length quite a treatise; and in the extent of its learning, its exactness of statement, its critical acumen, its fairness to opponents, its breadth of outlook and spirituality of tone, such a treatise as very few besides Dr Sanday could have written. It is conservative in its main positions, though the freedom of the critic is exercised upon the record. It is not very easy to describe it. It is not a life of Jesus in the ordinary sense. The narrative of the Passion, for instance, is not taken account of, except in so far as there are questions for criticism to settle arising out of it. His aim throughout is apologetic; it is to present a picture of what Christ was and is that will correspond to the divine reality. And while the life of Christ on earth is the main theme, the author does not limit himself to that. In the last section which he terms "The Verdict of History," he completes the picture by adding the impression made by the life of Christ on contemporaries and on the history of the world since. The life of Christ is presented in its broad features. The author tells us in the outset he is to avoid the method of studying Christ from the point of view of His own consciousness of Himself. He therefore begins with the external aspects of the history, unfolding the successive stages of it as these would appear to an observer of the events. He enters at once on the public ministry, reserving for the close all matter which he calls supplemental, *e.g.* the story of the miraculous birth, etc., which would be late in being brought to the consciousness of the Church. His plan includes a treatment both of the teaching of Christ and of His miracles. On His teaching, Dr Sanday says much that is beautiful and suggestive. What he says about miracles will provoke discussion and possibly misunderstanding. More than once we find him using language to the effect that, if a trained nineteenth century observer had been present he would have given a different version of the occurrences from that which has come down to us from the naïve chroniclers of the first. Such a statement might lead us to suppose that he held these occurrences to be natural events, apprehended as supernatural ones by those whose habits of thought led them to expect that Divine action would run counter to natural laws. But Dr Sanday

holds strongly that the miracles are historical, and that any attempt to translate them into our own habits of thought is doomed to failure. He holds that the evidence for miracles is conclusive. What he means then by the above is that Christ in working the miracles ascribed to Him, accommodated Himself to the predisposition of the people of that age to see the Divine in events that ran counter to natural law. It follows that we whose habits of thought are so different would not be convinced by such works if we saw them, and that however fully accredited the Gospel miracles are, they have no evidential value for us, and are in fact a stumbling-block to our faith. Dr Sanday seems to accept this inference. But this, he adds, does not affect "the worth for man of the Person of Jesus, which does not change but is eternal" (p. 628). One remark more. The picture of the life of Christ, he holds, is not complete till we have added to it the impression left by a reading of other parts of the N. T., as well as the testimony borne by the early "undivided" Church; and by the latter he means the findings of the great councils of the early Church. I am unable at this point to follow the author. It seems a perilous course to identify the doctrine of Christ as formulated by the councils with the truth about Him learnt from the Gospels, or to aim at combining the dogma of the Church with the Gospel representation. Such an attempt must provoke needless antagonism to the Christ of history on the part of those who turn away from the metaphysical setting of the truth in the creeds. These creeds of the "undivided Church" do not contribute to the understanding of the Life of Christ; in certain respects they obscure it. We venture to say this, while we accept as true and desire to profit by Dr Sanday's reminder, that "the decisions of the councils were framed by minds of great acumen and power really far better equipped for such discussions than the average Anglo-American mind of to-day" (p. 650). One is not concerned to defend the "average Anglo-American mind of to-day." But the theologians from the time of Schleiermacher onwards that are the boast of the German Church were not pigmies in comparison with the fathers of the early centuries, and Dr Sanday knows well that these theologians, so far from identifying the Gospel picture with that of the ancient creeds, have regarded the latter as in certain respects a serious hindrance to the understanding and appreciation of the former, and have laboured (not without success) to free the historical figure from the formulae imposed upon it by a worn-out metaphysic. Dr Sanday concludes with some weighty and suggestive paragraphs on the problem of the Person and Work of Christ as it faces the Church of to-day, the points on which enquiry has still to be

made, and the directions to which we must look for further light. The whole article is the work of a living mind and cannot fail to stimulate thought.

We again record our conviction of the great worth of this *Dictionary* and its importance for students of the Word. It is no exaggeration to say that when completed it will form the most valuable work in Biblical Science that has ever been produced in this country. Issued in the closing years of this century and the opening years of the next, it will serve as a lasting memorial of the extraordinary activity of mind that has been directed to the Scriptures and related subjects during the past century; and it will register the mature results of sober and reverent scholarship achieved in that period. It will reflect the striking change in men's way of looking at the Bible that criticism has brought about; but it will reflect also the revival of religious faith that has taken place, that has made it possible to combine the freest relation to the letter of Scripture with reverence for its spirit and with unswerving attachment to the revelation of the Will of God it contains. Nor is it likely that the *Dictionary* will soon become antiquated or be superseded. It must be long before the contents of a work like this, which is in many respects so much in advance of traditional opinion, can be assimilated by the general mind of the Church. We congratulate the Messrs Clark on their having produced a *Dictionary* that holds the field and is likely to hold it for many a day to come. Their enterprise deserves success on a scale worthy of what has been accomplished. This it will no doubt receive. No minister should be without this book. It is a library in itself, and an indispensable help to him in his professional studies. And wherever there is a living interest in the study of the Bible, it ought to find its way; it needs not a professional training to understand and master its contents.

We have two suggestions in the interest of readers to make. The one is that in future volumes or editions the editor and publishers should, if possible, arrange to furnish more maps. We have two in this volume, the one of "the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel," the other of "Jerusalem"; both are excellent, but more are needed. One can make little of an article like Professor Ramsay's "Galatia" without a map or chart before the eye. Also, they would confer a favour on the reader were they to append to the list of authors on the flyleaf a list as well of at least the principal articles that they have written. We wish to know not only the names of the contributors but also the names of the articles which they have contributed, without having to search through the volume for the information.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

**A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books
of Samuel.**

*By Henry Preserved Smith, D.D., Professor of Biblical History
and Interpretation in Amherst College. Edinburgh: T. & T.
Clark. Post 8vo, pp. 421 and xxxix. Price, 12s.*

THE International Critical Commentary has now reached five volumes in the New Testament series and three in the Old Testament. Dr Driver's Deuteronomy was followed by Dr Moore's Judges, and now Dr H. P. Smith has given us the Books of Samuel.

As it is impossible to mention this last work without recalling at once Dr Driver's valuable *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, it is well to say at once that Dr Smith's Commentary and Dr Driver's Notes are as regards scope very different books. It may safely be said that it will be long before "Driver" is superseded for Hebrew students, but on the other hand (as the title warns us) the English reader must not expect to gain anything from it. It is not even provided with a literary Introduction, and those who wish to know Dr Driver's opinions on the literary problems of the Books of Samuel must refer to the *Literature of the Old Testament*.

The International Critical Commentary on the other hand takes special thought for the English reader by separating the critical and grammatical comment from the English translation and general exegesis. Moreover, complete Introductions are prefixed and literary analysis is not ignored in the notes.

Dr H. P. Smith's volume is a careful piece of work in which no difficulty seems to be shirked. Every awkwardness or obscurity of the Hebrew text is noticed, and the best emendations to be derived from the versions, particularly the LXX in its three forms (A, B, and Lagarde's Lucianic text), and from internal evidence and transcriptional probability, are registered briefly but clearly. The latest literature has been used, such as Budde's *Critical Text* (1894), Nowack's *Hebräische Archäologie* (1894), Benzinger's work with the same title (1894), and the Geographies of Buhl (1896) and G. A. Smith (ed. 3, 1895), and Bädcker's *Syria and Palestine* (1894). Grammatical references are made to the twenty-sixth edition of Kautsch's Gesenius, to A. B. Davidson's *Hebrew Syntax* (1894), and to Driver's *Tenses* (ed. 3, 1892).

The Introduction consists of sections on the Title, Contents, Composition, and Literary Analysis of the Book, and also on Text and Versions, and on Commentaries. A section is also given on the Religious Ideas contained in the Book. The whole Introduc-

tion is tersely and clearly written with a praiseworthy abstention from doubtful conjecture. The weak section of the Introduction is that headed "Religious Ideas of the Books of Samuel." It seems to the reviewer that this is too hastily written and that it does not do full justice to the subject. Dr Smith rightly points out that there is (in the different parts of the book) a diversity of religious view corresponding with the diversity of authorship, but he seems to have allowed this diversity to banish from his view the underlying unity. We see in the different parts of the Books of Samuel *one* religion, though at different stages, and the scattered religious notices allow a more complete unification than Dr Smith has attempted. I could wish that he had more fully developed his own thesis (p. xxxv.) "That Jahweh is the God of Israel is the faith of all parts of the Old Testament." He might then have led us to the further result "That Jahweh is a moral ruler is the faith of all parts of the Books of Samuel." It is a serious blot that Dr Smith makes no reference in this connexion to the attitude of Jahweh towards the double crime of David against Uriah. Even if (with Dr Smith in his commentary on the text of 2 S. 11, 12) we treat Nathan's rebuke as an insertion by a later editor, we still have a striking example of Jahweh's vindication of His own righteousness. The writer of the Court History of David represents the God of Israel as taking up the cause of a mere alien—a Hittite officer—against the chosen king; *The thing that David had done displeased the Lord* (12²⁷), *and the Lord struck the child that Uriah's wife bare unto David* (12^{15b}). Moreover, in any account of the *Religious Ideas of the Books of Samuel* the story of Nathan's rebuke must find some place; even if the passage which contains it be from the hand of a later editor, it is still just as much a part of our Books of Samuel as 2 S. 21. (the Gibeonites), or 2 S. 24. (the Numbering), passages which are not unnoticed in Dr Smith's survey. Perhaps the later parts of Samuel develop more fully the moral aspects of the God of Israel, but the earlier passages do not give an uncertain sound. Jahweh has respect to the lowly (1 S. 28, 9), he loathes oppression, even priestly oppression (*ib.* 21⁷, 29), and kingly oppression (*ib.* 8^{11ff.}). Dr Smith has hardly succeeded in bringing out such traits as these.

On the other hand, some passages (1 S. 26¹⁹ and 2 S. 24¹; cp. 1 S. 22⁵) are unduly pressed. "Jahweh," writes Dr Smith, "is a God inscrutable in his actions—a God of moods we might almost call him. He instigates Saul against David for no reason of which the latter is conscious. Yet by inhaling the fragrance of a sacrifice it is probable that he may be placated, and thus his good humour be restored. At a later time he instigates David to com-

mit a sin, apparently in order that he may punish him, just as he hardened the hearts of Eli's sons in order that he might destroy them" (Introduction, p. xxxv).

In this passage it seems to me that Dr Smith is rather reproducing words and phrases from Samuel—and reproducing them in the crudest possible form—than helping us to penetrate to the ideas which lie behind them. Even in modern times, when experience of every kind has enriched our powers of expression far beyond those of the ancient Hebrews, our terms and phrases break down under the strain of conveying spiritual ideas. Again and again we have to fall back on anthropomorphic expressions in order to represent in words some comparatively simple instance of the divine working. Surely, then, we must be very careful in drawing the inference in the case of any part of so ancient a book as the Book of Samuel, that the religious ideas meant to be conveyed by language, crude and materialistic to our modern ears, must needs have been themselves crude and materialistic.

The first of these passages (1 S. 26¹⁹) is certainly not a safe basis for any theory as to the character of Israel's God. The language is courtly language (*If the LORD have stirred thee up against me, let Him accept an offering*), and does not represent David's real thoughts; indeed, David's utterances throughout (vv. 18-24) are most skilfully chosen with a view to spare the king.

Neither is the second passage (2 S. 24¹) a witness on which much stress can be laid. Chap. 24 (as Dr Smith tells us) is divorced from its original context; probably it once stood in close connexion with chap. 21. Probably if we had the whole setting of the passage, we should read something about a sin of Israel which provoked the anger of the LORD against Israel. In any case, we ought to hesitate to call Jahweh a "God of moods" on the strength of so abrupt a passage as this. It is very much to be hoped that § 8 on *The Religious Ideas* will be re-written in the Second Edition of the Commentary.

Dr Smith (like his immediate predecessor, Dr Driver) has devoted much attention to the text of Samuel, and has taken account of the work done in this field by Thenius (whose work he duly praises) and by Wellhausen. While agreeing with Dr Smith on the need for this careful scrutiny of readings, we may venture to differ from him in certain places. Thus, in 1 S. 19^a, the Heb. text seems to the reviewer to hold the field against any improvements as yet suggested. The order of narration in the M.T. is truly telling:—"Hannah rose up after the eating in Shiloh, and after the drinking, Eli the while looking on, not merry, but bitter in spirit, and took no further share in the general rejoicing, but prayed." We cannot omit with G^b the clause *and after the drink-*

ing (M.T., also G^{AL}) without losing a touch which prepares us for Eli's accusation of Hannah (ver.¹⁴); and if we accept from G^a in exchange¹ the clause *and she stood before the Lord*, we obtain words which are merely an anticipation of ver.¹⁰, while we lose the full force of the contrast between the merry feast and the sad-hearted woman.

One may doubt also whether Dr Smith is right in his reading (based on Klostermann and the LXX) of 1 S. 26²⁰, "For the king of Israel is come out to seek *my life*, as *the eagle* hunts the partridge in the mountains." For the *my life* of the LXX the M.T. has *one flea*, and for *as the eagle hunts* of Klostermann, the M.T. has *as he* (i.e. the king) *hunts*. The Hebrew text is singularly vigorous in its comparison of *the seeking of the flea* (David) with *the hunting of the partridges*. "Let the king bestir himself with a host of beaters for a worthy sport (the partridge-hunt), but let him not bring 3000 chosen men (ver.²) to catch one flea (me, David the insignificant)!"

Again, does Dr Smith do well in accepting Klostermann's הַעֲצָבִי in 2 S. 1^{19 2}? G^{AB}, which Dr Smith cites, presupposes practically the same reading (as far as the consonants are concerned) as the M.T. The comparison of Jonathan to a gazelle (the male creature is meant, as the masculine form of the word shows) is not inappropriate: for the personal beauty of the fallen friend is the uppermost thought (cp. Cant. 2¹⁷); moreover the mention of *high-places* in the immediate context is in favour of *gazelle* being the right reading (cp. 2 S. 22³⁴). Ver.^{25 b} (which Dr Smith strikes out) supplies a satisfactory defence for the M.T.

In some points we could wish that Dr Smith's Notes were somewhat fuller. We rarely get what we do not want, but we sometimes miss what we want. Thus on 1 S. 13¹⁴ ("Jahweh has sought out a man according to his heart") Dr Smith shows that he is aware that such a compound term as "a-man-after-his-own-heart" (A.V.) though supported by the accentuation is almost unparalleled in the Hebrew language, but he does not make it clear that it is better to connect the phrase *according to his heart* with the verb *sought out*, disjoining it from *a man*. It is God's *choice* which is *according to his heart*; the choice is unfettered by the existence of heirs to Saul, or by any popular sentiment in favour of his house.

In the case of some passages again some additional references might have been given to books of a special character, e.g. on 2 S. 5⁷ we expect some references (which we do not get) to topo-

¹ G^{AL} give *both* clauses.

² Restored by Dr Smith thus, *Grieve, O Israel! On thy heights are the slain.*

graphical literature dealing with the position of Zion. On ver. ²⁴ ("the sound of marching in the tops of the balsams") Dr Smith speaks of the "sanctity of the trees," but gives no reference to Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, chap. v. Again on 23 ²⁰ ("the two sons of Ariel") we are not referred to additional Note L of the *Religion of the Semites*, though Dr Smith just mentions Robertson Smith's view, "unless towns or sanctuaries are intended."

Finally, in taking farewell of a very useful book, I may be allowed to point out some few misprints, which might be corrected in a Second Edition.

Page 11, line 24. Read, *Benzinger*.

Page 127, line 2 (fr. below). Read ἐσώξας.

Page 167, line 32. Read וישביל (with initial י).

Page 204, line 2 (fr. below). "The oracle is therefore imported by a prophet" (some misprint is probable).

Page 205, line 1. After במצפה add "So S."

Page 243, line 13. Read מרבק (with final ק).

Page 288, line 14. On the dual form of *Jerusalem* add ref. to Kautzsch-Gesenius ²⁶ § 88 c. Rem. 1.

Page 288, line 22. Read יסיר (with initial י).

Page 289, line 5. On צנור add ref. to Ps. 42⁸.

The Commentary is a very good one, sufficient without being overburdened with irrelevant matter. It is heartily to be wished "A Second Edition!"

W. EMERY BARNES.

Elements of the Science of Religion.

Part II. Ontological. Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1898. By C. P. Tiele, Theol.D., etc., Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion in the University of Leyden. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1899. Pp. viii. 286. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

IN briefly noticing in this *Review* (vol. viii. p. 10) the appearance of the first series of Professor Tiele's Gifford Lectures, we ventured to indicate an opinion that the value of the course would specially depend upon the treatment accorded to what the learned author had indicated as the second division of his subject. The first, or morphological part, might be regarded as presenting in a generalised form the material which in the writer's other works had been given concretely and in detail. It set forth the laws of the facts, with sufficient illustration to make them intelligible. The second part,

it was apparent, would be more synthetic in its character; we hoped to get nearer the personality of the author, to read what a lifetime of special study had taught him as to the great problems of religious thought and life. In this we understood that he would break new ground, so far as his published opinions were concerned, and therefore it was with a keen interest that we took up this further instalment of his lectures.

It may be said at once that, in most respects, the anticipations formed have been amply fulfilled. We have here a thoughtful weighty book, proceeding from a master of that modern Science of Religion, to which some have looked with expectations as unreasonable as the suspicions of others,—wanting perhaps in warmth, but full of knowledge and intellectual acumen, grave, earnest, and dignified, as becomes the themes dealt with, and above all, marked by an impartiality, an evident search after truth, and truth alone, which commands the respect of the reader. So noteworthy is the last characteristic that many passages in the book might be quoted or founded upon in favour of theological conclusions, which Dr Tiele himself would probably be one of the last to draw. He writes in the interest of science, not apologetic; yet there is not a little that the apologist will probably hasten to annex.

The present, like the former volume, contains ten lectures. We briefly glance at the contents of these.

The first considers, and distinguishes between, the manifestations and constituents of religion. Assuming that it is *real* religion which is in question, that which “lives in the heart,” and not that which is “put on like a Sunday garment,” its manifestations are words and actions, its constituents are emotions, conceptions and sentiments. Religion, we are told, always begins with an emotion, and “every emotion embraces three elements: (1) a predisposition in the form of certain longings or aspirations, as yet partly unconscious, and certain latent and vague conceptions, differing according to the temperament and inclination of the individual, which may be described as a mood; (2) an impression produced upon us from without, or the affection itself; and (3) the fact of becoming conscious of such affection, or the perception of such affection” (p. 15). The sentiment is distinguished from the emotion as “the direction of the will which impels to action” (p. 18). Between the two comes the conception. It is not unlikely that Professor Tiele’s psychology may here be challenged, especially as he admits “certain latent and vague conceptions” as elements of emotion itself, and doubtless the whole question of the priority of thought or feeling is raised by it. But accepting his analysis, we note that all three constituents are essential. Religion becomes one-sided when any one of them is over emphasised or

neglected. They must all be present, and must be in equilibrium if the genuine and vigorous growth of religion is to be promoted. To two remarks in this lecture we may direct special attention. One is as follows: "I rejoice that the need of religion, so long obscured by prosaic materialism, is again beginning to make itself felt." The other is that "religion constitutes the deepest foundation, or rather the very centre, of our spiritual life." It is not that these observations are original, but as expressions of a personal faith, they form the foundation stones of a not inadequate theological structure. And they do not stand alone.

The second lecture is on the "Genesis and Value of Conceptions of Faith." The emotion which calls faith into life immediately transforms it into conceptions (p. 26). How are these conceptions formed? It is by the aid of imagination that "the religious man gives concrete shape to the faith that is in him by means of an image of an ideal future and a supernatural and divine world. But imagination can do no more. It can only create images which give utterances to some thought, or give vent to some feeling" (p. 29). Imagination is not vain, because it works on reality, but its workings are susceptible of improvement as the reality is more truly apprehended. The conceptions of faith possess relative, but only relative, value. They may be superseded by higher conceptions. The course of reasoning here is similar to that adopted by Sabatier in his *Sketch of a Philosophy of Religion*, and it leads Dr Tiele into a discussion of the distinctions between *science and knowledge*, and between *knowledge and faith*, as also into an interesting criticism of a passage respecting Reason and Authority in Mr A. J. Balfour's *Foundations of Belief*. As, in the previous lecture, our author dissociates himself from Materialism, so, in the conclusion of this, he dissociates himself from Rationalism. The difficulty in giving adequate expression to faith is "not because it stands on a lower platform than science, but because it has a higher aim. It must make shift to express itself in a language which is too poor to express everything. It is, so to speak, a king in exile, a son of God in human form" (p. 47).

Lecture III. discusses the relation of Philosophy to Religious Doctrine. Philosophy is here taken in its widest sense as including all speculations as to the ultimate source of the universe. Philosophy and Faith existed before they were reduced to systems, or arranged in scholastic or ecclesiastical dogmas. They became differentiated "when laymen attempted the solution of questions hitherto regarded as the sole property of priests and theologians" (p. 59). Philosophy aims at a complete and connected cosmogony; religious doctrine is a theory of practice—the truth it represents is substantiated by the evidence of conscience,

and it then proceeds to ask what bearing this truth has upon human life (p. 62). They are often in conflict, which sometimes arises from misunderstanding, but more frequently from a difference in the development of the two; one progresses while the other is stationary. Some remarks upon Creeds lead Professor Tiele to point out the elements which together constitute every religion. These are "a doctrine regarding God (or theology), a doctrine regarding man's relations to God, ideal and real (or anthropology), and a doctrine regarding the means of establishing and maintaining communion with God (soteriology, or the doctrine of salvation)" (p. 73). "All religions," he says (p. 75), "are religions of redemption, and all religious doctrine is a doctrine of salvation. This is one of the most striking, and at the same time most certain, results of our science." The mention of these three elements lays the groundwork of the three succeeding lectures, which respectively treat of "The constant element in all conceptions of God," "The Relationship between God and Man," and "Worship, Prayers, and Offerings." The root idea, Dr Tiele holds, in every conception of godhead is power—"the conclusion to which the study of religions has led us is, that a god is a *superhuman power*." (p. 80). By superhuman, he is careful to explain, is not necessarily meant supernatural or supersensual, but "for the religious man the chief question is, what his god can effect, what he has to hope or to fear from him" (p. 84). Omnipotence is of course early associated with omniscience and omnipresence as attributes of Deity, and to these an advanced culture adds beauty and morality, the satisfaction of the aesthetic and the ethical sentiment. But at the basis of all is the idea of power—"men worship that only which they deem above them" (p. 97), the powers of nature cease to be manifestations of the Divine, in the sense of evoking worship, as soon as they are brought under human control. But not only "God above us," but also "God in us," is a belief common to all religions" (p. 103). The latter is characteristic of the theanthropic as distinguished from the theocratic religions. The theanthropic religions lay the chief stress upon man's relationship with God. The effect of such a view is to stimulate hope and give rise to "the representations of Paradise and the predictions of a glorious future for man upon earth" (p. 109). "No one will deny that the idea of relationship with God is but imperfectly expressed in all these images, and that they are but attempts to give it shape; yet the religious thought that underlies them is that man 'is of God, and through God, and to God,' and is destined at last to be reunited with Him" (p. 115). The same thought finds expression also in the conception of a mediator so widely exemplified in the various

forms of religion. The mediator is divine as well as human—the god-man—and this doctrine, says our author in a noteworthy sentence, is so prominent and central “because it satisfies the deepest needs of the religious soul” (p. 120). When we turn now to the consideration of Worship, with its special forms of Prayer and Offering, we find that it springs from “a sentiment of kinship with the superhuman powers, as well as a sense of entire dependence upon them, which impels the religious man to seek communion with them . . . and to re-establish such communion when he thinks it has been broken off through his own fault” (p. 127). The reciprocal character of worship—man approaching God and God drawing near to man is fully recognised; at the same time it is pointed out that prayer as well as answer must be thought of as coming from God. A beautiful saying of a Persian mystic is quoted in this connection. One had complained to him “that his prayers to Allah remain unanswered, and he had been persuaded by Satan that they were all in vain. ‘But why,’ asks the prophet, ‘have you ceased to call upon God?’ ‘Because,’ replied the doubter, ‘the answer—Here am I—never came, and I feared to be turned away from the door.’ Whereupon the prophet says:—‘Thus hath God commanded me: Go to Him, and say, O sorely tired man, was it not I that urged you to serve me? . . . Your invocation of Allah was my *Here am I*, and your pain, your longing, your zeal, were my messengers’” (p. 133). Again we may compare an eloquent passage of Sabatier (Eng. transl. p. 33), “no prayer remains unanswered, because God to whom it is addressed is the One who has already inspired it. The search for God cannot be fruitless; for the moment I set out to seek Him, He finds me and lays hold of me.”

The seventh lecture is occupied with Religion as a Social Phenomenon—the Church. In connection with it there are several important and interesting discussions, one of the most remarkable being on the question whether the Church in the larger sense exists at all. Are local church organizations the only form in which a common religious life can find its natural, if not its only true home? (p. 164). Are these the only form in which the ideal Church can be realised? One author speaks, he says, from strong conviction when he declares that this would be to regard the religious development of some twenty centuries as a huge aberration, which must be all wiped out, so that a fresh beginning may be made. “This is surely not the teaching of the philosophy of history, but rather a flat denial of its plain lessons” (p. 165).

The eighth lecture brings us face to face with what we must regard as the central problem of the volume—“The Inquiry into the Being or Essence of Religion.” The difficulty of the question is acknowledged, and a *caveat* is entered against the abuse of the

distinction as applied to religion between husk and kernel, as though "the external manifestations of religious consciousness were mere unimportant incidents" (p. 186). But the question is, What is it that we can characterise as the abiding, the unchanging, the essential element, as distinguished from the ever-varying phenomena in which it is revealed?" (p. 187). Various attempts to answer the question having been considered, Faith is first set forth as constituting that religious frame of mind in which religion has originated. But this answer also Dr Tiele sets aside as one which he has outgrown. True, faith is the life of religion, but so it is of the whole range of our spiritual activities—of morality, science and art,—even of superstition,—as well as of religion. The essence of religion, he concludes, is to be sought for in a certain sentiment or disposition, or frame of mind in which all its various elements have their source. This is Piety, manifesting itself in word and deed, in conceptions and observances, in doctrine and in life. But the essence of Piety, and therefore the essence of Religion itself is Adoration, in which the two phases of religion are united—on the one hand, self-consecration, on the other, the desire to possess the adored object, to enter into that closest communion, that perfect union, which forms the characteristic aim of all religion, and to which all true believers earnestly aspire (p. 199).

The ninth lecture discusses the Origin of Religion—not its historical origin which belongs to the morphological part of the inquiry—but its psychological foundation. The question is, What induced men to put themselves into relation with the higher powers which they discerned in the universe? The various hypotheses which trace this tendency respectively to some process of reasoning, to the moral consciousness, to sentiment, and to the opposition of self-consciousness and world-consciousness, having been passed under review, the lecturer declares himself in favour of the opinion that man is religious because he cannot help it, because he has in him the Infinite and so, according to the well-known words of St Augustine, cannot rest until he rests in God. It is not, as Max Müller puts it, the perception of the Infinite that is the origin of religion,—this is to ante-date reflection. It is the presence of the Infinite, that man has it within him even before he is himself conscious of it, and whether he recognises it or not (p. 230). The *whence* of Religion having been thus determined, it remains to consider the manner of its appearance,—in other words, the Place of Religion in Spiritual Life, which forms the subject of the concluding lecture. What, it asks, is the relation between religion, on the one hand, and science, art, and the ethical life, in all its departments, on the other? (p. 242). The difference between them largely is that while these give an imperfect, religion

gives a perfect, satisfaction. They are akin, but it is an erroneous theory which derives all the others from religion. On the other hand, there is no fear either of their being unduly dominated by it or of its being superseded by any of them. Religion and civilisation in its highest developments are not incompatible; the former hallows the latter. And the Science of Religion, by "throwing light upon the part that religion has ever played in the history of mankind, and still plays in every human soul" . . . "will help to bring home to the restless spirits of our time the truth that there is no rest for them unless 'they arise and go to their Father'" (pp. 262-3).

There is no denying the massive power of this book, and as we have already hinted, and as will be abundantly evident from various points in the foregoing outline of its argument, it may fairly be held to point to much which the author never intended to advocate. We only desire to note further that not the least interesting passages are criticisms upon British writers, and that there is a carefully prepared index to the two volumes. ALEXANDER STEWART.

Handbooks on the History of Religions.

The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, by Morris Jastrow, jr., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Pennsylvania. Boston, U.S.A.: Ginn & Company, Publishers, "The Athenæum Press." 1898. 8vo, pp. xii. 780. Price, 12s. 6d. net.

AMERICA possesses at the present time some of the most active and able workers in the realm of Assyriology, and this volume is the product of one of the leaders in this branch of Semitic study. It is now nearly twelve years since Professor Sayce delivered his Hibbert Lectures on Babylonian Religion with their large and luminous, sometimes audacious, generalisations and the ample store of translated texts. Twelve years are certainly not a long interval, but in such a field of research as cuneiform literature they count for much. For there is no ancient race which possessed such ample records of its civilisation as the Assyrian and Babylonian, and there is no land—not even the Nile Valley—that contains them in larger quantities than the plains watered by the streams of the Tigris and Euphrates. Their soil is ever yielding them to the explorer in quantities and rapidity that far outstrip the pace of decipherment. Many thousands of these clay documents still remain to be transcribed and interpreted in the museums of London and other

European capitals. Hundreds of thousands still remain buried in the soil.

The texts are in many cases extremely difficult, and this is especially true of the religious and astrological tablets. Every fresh document may throw a new and unexpected light upon a doubtful word or expression, and any newly-discovered syllabary or portion of one may alter the reading of some doubtful sign.

Very soon after the publication of Sayce's treatise, attention was drawn to the epoch-making discovery of the Tell el Amarna tablets. These documents contained one most important addition to our knowledge of Babylonian mythology, viz. the legend of Adapa (see Jastrow's work, p. 544 foll.), which Winckler and Abel first published in the work *Der Thontafelfund von el Amarna*, and was republished with comments by E. J. Harper in Delitzsch's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii. Heft. 2.

Another work of considerable importance appeared three years after the above-mentioned Lectures by Sayce. We refer to Jensen's *Cosmologie der Babylonier*. This dealt mainly with the astronomical and cosmical ideas of the ancient Babylonians based on a very careful examination of difficult and obscure texts. It contained transcriptions of these and also of portions of the Creation Series as well as the Flood story with an elaborate commentary appended. The great value of Jensen's work is well nigh universally recognised. I can only mention Knudtzon's *Assyrian prayers to the Sun God* and Tallquist's as well as Zimmern's contributions on Babylonian formulae of conjuration. The name of Zimmern suggests the mention of Gunkel's instructive and stimulating *Schöpfung u. Chaos* to which the Assyriologist has made useful contributions. Lastly the results of the Babylonian Expedition organised by the University of Pennsylvania and published by Dr Hilprecht, have yielded us much desired information respecting the most distant periods of Babylonian religion and culture, though in many respects indefinite.

These are the chief contributions to our knowledge of Babylonian life and religion since Sayce delivered his lectures on the subject with which the present work deals. Many others might be added, especially L. W. King's work entitled *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery. Cuneiform Texts from the Kouyunjik Collections in the British Museum*. Jastrow's book is certainly the most elaborate treatise of the kind that has yet appeared, and it is written by one who is a leading authority on the subject, who has gathered together the materials derived from his prolonged study of the literature of Assyriology. Fortunately Jastrow has a literary instinct and knows how to write for Englishmen. The flow of his bright, crisp sentences, undisturbed by the terrible parentheses and bracketed

references of our German friends and their English imitators, renders his work a real pleasure to read. His translations have the merit of being intelligible as well as scholarly; and the thought is so admirably woven that the work has a fascination for the reader, who is surprised to find not a single dull page. It is interesting to compare this book with Chantepie de la Saussaye's recent second edition of his *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, in which the separate sections dealing with ancient Oriental and European religions are written by recognised experts in each department. Here we have the entire subject of Assyro-Babylonian religion presented to us by Dr Alfred Jeremias in sixty large octavo pages. Instead of this Jastrow gives us an entire volume of about 700 pages with very full references in the footnotes to cuneiform documents and the most authoritative literature on Assyriology. What in Jeremias' contribution to Chantepie de la Saussaye's two volumes on the ancient religions of the world is succinctly expressed in a sentence or a paragraph, is unfolded by Jastrow with great wealth of illustration in an entire chapter.

"The period which beheld the rise of large organised kingdoms out of small communities grouped around a religious centre belongs to the fourth millennium B.C. The large kingdom again had its religious centre. The establishment by Hammurabi of his empire in 2250 B.C. is of great importance. He permanently united the North and South Babylonian kingdoms under a single monarchy, with Babel as its capital" (De la Saussaye, i. p. 169).

This paragraph is well illustrated by an entire chapter (chap. viii.) in Jastrow's masterly treatise devoted to the *Pantheon in the days of Hammurabi*, occupying nearly fifty pages.

This leads me to speak of the most valuable feature in this work to the student of the comparative science of religion, viz., its *historical treatment* of the subject, whereby the *successive stages* of the growth of Babylono-Assyrian religion are unfolded. The more careful study bestowed on the earliest documents of Babylonian life and religion, to be supplemented, as we hope, by increased material of even earlier date, furnished by the *spolia opima* of Dr Hilprecht's investigations, will enable us to see the gradual evolution of the stately Babylonian religion and mythology from the most primitive forms of local worship. For Babylonian religion, though it bears so prominently a sidereal character, was not sidereal in origin. For the first time Jastrow's work enables us to see the primitive factors at work. His opening pages are specially instructive. From the primitive animism which ascribed life to the phenomena of nature—to trees, stones, and plants, as well as sun, moon, water, rain, and storms, and also to the ground, he derives the subsequent religious beliefs of the early Babylonians.

"To secure the favour of the rain and the sun was not sufficient to the agriculturist. He was obliged to obtain the protection of the guardian spirits of the soil."

Here we see the germ out of which, through the influence of social and political interrelations, the growth of towns and their domination over others, there arose the more highly developed cults of the chief Babylonian deities, and we perceive how the varying relations of these deities to one another were determined.

"Again, when through association the group of arable plots grew into a hamlet, and then through continued growth into a town, the latter, regarded as a unit by virtue of its political organisation under a chief ruler, would necessarily be supposed to have some special power presiding over its destinies, protecting it from danger and ready to defend the rights and privileges of those who stood immediately under its jurisdiction. Each Babylonian city, large or small, would in this way obtain a deity devoted to its welfare, and as the city grew in extent, absorbing perhaps others lying about, and advancing in this way to the dignity of a district, the city's god would correspondingly increase his jurisdiction."

These principles are illustrated very fully in the ensuing pages descriptive of the individual deities of Babylonia and their cults—their local character and history being traced in each case with a masterly hand. Šamaš was the exception. "Less than is the case with the other gods is he identified with any particular city" (p. 69). His character was essentially ethical and his function that of judge (p. 71, *cf.* De la Saussaye, i. p. 179).

How profoundly political interrelations governed the development of Babylonian religion may be seen from the fact that

"Amalgamation of two cities or districts is portrayed in the relation of the two patron deities as husband and wife, the stronger of the two being the former, the more subservient pictured as the latter. The more pronounced superiority of the one place over the other finds expression in the relation of father to child, while that of master and servant emphasises the complete control exercised by the one over the other" (p. 94, *fol.*).

That these developments became in the last resort matters of compromise and arrangement between local priesthoods should be clearly understood (*cf.* De la Saussaye, p. 173). The description of the old Babylonian pantheon is succeeded by a portraiture as vivid of the days of Hammurabi (2250 B.C.). Here we notice important new factors introduced by the great political changes which that monarch created. Marduk thereby assumed a dominant position. This is the religious correlate of the greater authority and central position won for Babylon, the capital. Marduk was its patron deity, and the elevation of this god into so commanding

a position was the direct result of Hammurabi's victorious and centralising policy, which brought the various states of the lower Euphrates watershed under a single control, Babylon being the supreme dominating centre (p. 116). Even Nebo is overshadowed by Marduk, and is obliged to yield his place in Borsippa to the new deity, whose cult was now in the ascendant (p. 126), and to whom Hammurabi ascribes his success, and by whom he regards himself as beloved (p. 117). We note in passing with satisfaction that Tiele's theory of the late origin of Nebo's worship is disputed (p. 126, footnote).

As we pass from the Babylonian to the Assyrian pantheon entirely new factors are disclosed. (1) By far the most prominent is the cult of the national god Ašur; (2) we note the smaller compass of the pantheon; (3) fewer minor deities. Ašur is far more intensely national than Marduk. The former is distinctively a local deity, and was never worshipped, so far as can be ascertained, as a manifestation of any of the powers of nature. Though Tiele suggests the identification of Ašur with Sin, while Jastrow is not indisposed to regard his symbol of a winged disc as expressing some phase of the Sun, so much only seems clear that Ašur is not the centre of any great mythology like Marduk. True, the alternative name Anšar, mentioned in the Creation tablet, is also claimed for him,¹ and Jastrow goes so far as to suggest that Ašur, "the good one," was originally a kind of punning epithet. But might not Assyrian theologians, on the other hand, seek to connect their own national God Ašur with an older grandiose mythology by the close resemblance of name, and thus the name of Anšar for the Assyrian deity was really an afterthought? Ašur is in truth quite unique in character, and is more essentially Assyrian than any other deity. It is "the only instance that we have of a God expressly giving his name to a city." Thus while Marduk survives the destruction of Babylonian independence since he embodied distinctive ideas in mythology and played a great universal role in cosmogony and the world of human life, it is far different with the national deity of Assyria, and with the fall of Assyria her patron deity is discrowned and dies. During the existence of the Assyrian supremacy, Ašur reigns in the Assyrian pantheon without a rival. All the other deities are like vassal-princes, who swell the pomp of his regal court (p. 192). Here again we note how the divine order of Assyrian religion is moulded on the type of the earthly. The unique position of Ašur is well explained:—

"For the Assyrian kings the same motives did not exist, as for the Babylonians, to emphasise their control over all parts of

¹ See Delitzsch, *Weltschöpfungsepos*, p. 94, footnote 1.

their empire by adding the chief gods of their districts to the pantheon. Assyria was never split up into independent states like Babylonia before the days of Hammurabi. The capital, it is true, changed with considerable frequency, but there was always only one great centre of political power" (p. 191).

We are obliged to make only cursory reference to many chapters in this instructive volume, *e.g.* "Gudea's Pantheon" (preceding Hammurabi's age) described in chap. vi., and the specially interesting chap. xi. on the "Survivals of animism in Babylonian religion," revealed in the vast world of spirits divided into different classes to which the incantation-texts bear witness. Chap. xiv., describing the Neo-Babylonian period, may be said to conclude worthily the historical survey, covering more than three millenniums, through which the author has conducted us. This is succeeded by a very full chapter on "Magical texts," and another on "Prayers and Hymns." In the latter the author remarks that the prayers and hymns of the Babylonians have not yet received adequate attention. Unfortunately those which have been discovered in Asurbanipal's library are in a very defective condition, colophons being broken off, so that we do not know anything about the occasion which prompted them (p. 299 and footnote). After this follows an instructive chapter on Penitential Psalms, upon which Zimmern, fourteen years ago, published his first and epoch-making work. Jastrow clearly and succinctly sketches the theology of these Psalms:—

"The two facts which presented themselves with overpowering force to the penitent were the anger of the deity, and the necessity of appeasing that anger. Beyond this conclusion the Babylonians and the Assyrians did not go, but this reasoning also sufficed to bring the conviction home to him that his misfortunes were the result of some offence. . . . One became conscious of having 'missed the mark' only when evil in some form came to remind the individual or the nation of the necessity of securing the favour of the deity again. Still within this sphere there were great possibilities of ethical progress."

The remarks that follow should certainly be studied in the original work (p. 314, foll.) by the Biblical student anxious to know something of the religious atmosphere that prevailed outside the Jewish communities in the exile period.

Passing over two excellent chapters, one dealing with *Omens* and the other with the "Cosmology of the Babylonians," and another on the "Babylonian Zodiacal System," we come to chap. xxiii. on the Gilgamesh epic. Here Jastrow follows Delitzsch in reading Par-napištim rather than Šit-napištim (as Jensen and Zimmern). The reading Pir-napištim on the basis of Scheil's

recently discovered tablet is very improbable; see pp. 488 and 507, footnotes. The study of this chapter should certainly be supplemented by the perusal of Jastrow's interesting article in Dr Bezold's *Zeitschrift* (ZA) for March 1899 entitled "Adraḥasis and Parnapištim," where the important consequences of Scheil's discovery are clearly set forth. Jastrow shows that one can remove the deluge episode from the Gilgamesh epic without disturbing the narrative, and the Deluge story evidently had originally two forms, to one of which Parnapištim belongs, while Adraḥasis belongs to the other. The tablet brought to light by Scheil comes from Abu Habba, the ancient Sippar, and it bears the name Adram-ḥasis (= Ḥasis-adra(m) = Xisuthros). It seems therefore to be identical with the Berossus version. From the mention of Šurippak Jastrow infers that in its original form the tale grew up out of a local inundation which overtook that city and compares this with the Sodom and Gomorrha episode of the O.T. This is very ingenious, but it illustrates Jastrow's weakness as well as his strength. His strength lies not only in his Semitic acquirements, but in that "scientific use of the imagination," to use Professor Tyndall's happy phrase, which makes his writings so attractive as well as valuable; but his gift sometimes betrays him, e.g. in his approval (p. 476, footnote 3) of Stade's far-fetched speculation on Gen. ii. 20, Z.A.T.W. 1897, p. 210. On the other hand, we have other suggestions which are certainly of value to the Old Testament student, e.g. p. 476 and footnote 2, and in the above article in Z.A. the proposed rendering of Gen. vi. 9 (cf. v. 24) given on p. 299. Jastrow thinks that it was the Adraḥasis legend that the Hebrews borrowed in its older form and carried with them when they first crossed the Jordan.

We can only enumerate here the remaining chapters of the book, contenting ourselves with the remark that they stand on the same high level as those which precede them. These remaining chapters deal with "Myths and Legends," "Views of Life after Death" (based largely on the "Descent of Ištar to Hades" in the Gilgamesh series, and on Jeremias' monograph, as well as Jensen's "Cosmologie"), in which Hebrew students should note the remarks on the Babylonian *Kinah* and *Sheḥl* (p. 504 foll.); followed by "The Temples and their Cults," very fully set forth, but suffering, like the rest of the book, from the lack of figured illustrations. A valuable "Conclusion" ends this remarkable volume. It is likewise endowed with a very full Bibliography (covering 32 pages) and a detailed Index.

We have but little space for criticism. In the first place was it worth while to devote so much space in preface and text to the Halévist controversy, now that Fried. Delitzsch has abandoned the

position (most creditably to his candour) which he stoutly maintained ten years ago in his *Assyrian Grammar* (p. 61 foll.)? Notwithstanding all the great ingenuity and argumentative ability of the Anti-Sumerologists, cuneiform is a mode of writing ill adapted to a Semitic language with its varied gutturals and sibilants, and can hardly have originated among Semites.

Lastly we should recommend, even in a treatise to be read by the intelligent public unacquainted with Hebrew, the use of a few diacritical points to distinguish, *e.g.* ך from כ and ך or ם from ש.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi.

Von D. Emil Schürer. Dritte Auflage. Bde. II. und III. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. Price, M. 24.

ALL students of the Bible will welcome this new edition of the second part of Schürer's great work on the history of the Jewish people in the time of Christ. Appearing originally in one volume with the title *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte*, it was found necessary to divide it in the second edition into two volumes, and to alter the title to the present one. Of this 2nd edition vol. ii., with the sub-title "Die inneren Zustände," etc. (884 pp.), appeared in 1886, and four years later vol. i., "Einleitung und politische Geschichte" (with index to the whole work, 751 pp.). The second part now appears much enlarged and improved in two volumes (vols. ii. and iii. of the whole work), vol. ii. (584 pp.) entitled "Die inneren Zustände," vol. iii. (562 pp.) "Das Judentum in der Zerstreuung und die Jüdische Literatur." A third edition of vol. i. is promised shortly.

The importance of the work as a whole can scarcely be over-estimated. There is no other work in any language to equal it. Hausrath's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (2te Aufl. 4 Bde. 1873-7) is an interesting and fascinating book, but not to be compared with Schürer's for thoroughness and usefulness as a work for constant reference. Holtzmann's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* is a very convenient and reliable hand-book, but is too small for the advanced student; the same applies to Stapfer's *La Palestine au temps de Jésus Christ* in French, and Muirhead's *The Times of Christ* and Edersheim's *Sketches of Jewish social life in the days of Christ*. Except for these and the work before us the student of the period extending from the beginning of the second century B.C. to the fall of Jerusalem has to collect his information

from Histories of Israel, Lives of Christ, Bible Dictionaries and scattered monographs. Such a student will recognise that it is no slight gain to have these sources of information collected and grouped under the proper headings. German writers as a rule are very attentive to the bibliography of their subjects, and Schürer is no exception. One may safely say that all the literature of any worth is recorded. Indeed, the additions to the literature account for a large proportion of the new material. The work of English scholars is recognised, and the references to it are generally up to date. The names of Charles, Conybeare, Ryle, Taylor, Ramsay, and others are prominent, and the *New Bible Dictionary* is referred to.

The ordinary reader would perhaps sometimes be more grateful, if a short estimate of the books cited were appended; but this scarcely enters into the plan of the author, and to be of much service would necessarily cause a considerable enlargement of the work.

As a rule the newest editions of books are used, but possessors of Reuss's *Geschichte der Schriften des Alten Testaments* need to notice that the sections of the second edition correspond to those of the first. Weber is still quoted in the first edition, and the new edition of Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* seems to have escaped notice.

Vol. ii. has to do entirely with Palestinian life. The chief matters treated are Hellenic culture in Palestine and the relation of the Jews to it, Hellenic cities, the strictly Jewish province, the Synedrium, the Priests and Temple service, the Scribes and the results of their activity, Pharisees and Sadducees, School and Synagogue, life under the Law, the Messianic hope, and the Essenes. The first eleven pages of the book are new. In the second edition Schürer takes his information as to the extent of the Jewish population in Palestine from Josephus. He now goes back to the time of the Maccabees, and shows that this was the period during which the Jews really entered once more into the possession of the Holy Land. This position seems fully justified, for Ezra's companions were but a handful of men, who settled in a limited part of Judaea. Individuals wandered thence into Galilee and beyond Jordan, but were so few and unprotected that Judas could only ensure their safety by bringing them into Judaea. But under the later Maccabeans this was changed, and the extent of the Judaeian settlements in Galilee and Peraea is well discussed in these pages.

The section on the nature and number of the Hellenistic cities in Palestine is in the main a reproduction of the same subject in the second edition, but carefully worked over. As in that edition, thirty-three Hellenistic cities—or more properly now thirty-two—

are described, and their history is briefly told. Almost every page shows by slight changes in phraseology and modifications of previous statements how detailed the revision has been here, as indeed in the whole work. One change will be noticed by all interested in Palestinian geography. In the last edition, on the authority of Waddington, the existence of two separate cities Kanata and Kanatha was accepted, the former being identified with Kerak, the latter with Kanawāt (so also G. A. Smith in his *Geography*, p. 600, and Buhl, *Geographie*, p. 363). Schürer now refers both names to one city, which he identifies with Kanawāt, the district of which, he says, probably extended to Kerak and Der Chulēf, *i.e.* about sixteen miles.

These pages, together with the first part of Vol. III., afford the material for a most interesting study of the relation of the Jewish to the other nations at the time of Christ. Without such a knowledge much connected with the early spread of Christianity must remain vague or unintelligible. But they have a value also for the reconstruction of Jewish history during the late Persian period, for which we have very few historical data.

For the presentation of the peculiarly Jewish life of Palestine comparatively little has been done of late, hence the sections dealing with this subject bring supplementary knowledge of detail rather than any radical change of view. Josephus, Philo, and the Mishna are the chief authorities, and there is still much to be done in the critical study of all three. Future workers will have the benefit of the critical texts of Josephus by Niese and Naber, and Cohn and Wendland's invaluable text of Philo has now reached the third volume, but a really critical edition of the Mishna seems to be as far off as ever.

Of the improvements in detail, there is one of great interest in regard to the origin of the Sanhedrin. Schürer here agrees with E. Meyer (against Stade and Holtzmann) that the heads of families—of both priesthood and laity—did not in Ezra's time form a corporation. Later, however, by the nearer approach of these heads, the Sanhedrin as a collective body was formed. As the Sanhedrin is an aristocratic body, its rise must be referred to the Persian period, for where Hellenism created new organisations they were democratic. Schürer further differs from Holtzmann in believing that the meeting of the Sanhedrin in the palace of the High Priest to condemn Jesus was exceptional, and that its usual place of meeting (the *βουλή* in Josephus) was a special chamber on the west side of the Temple-hill.

In the section on Halacha and Haggada, Schürer contributes little or nothing original, but sums up well the results of the latest research. There is a large field here for further work. We can

see what sort of biblical or theological literature was current at the time of Christ; we know a few of the rules of conduct that were observed and some of the philosophic doctrines that were then being discussed. But when we come to the mass of material in Targums, Midrashim, and Mishna, it is almost impossible to put one's finger on a single passage and say with certainty that it was written or even taught in the time of Christ. A critical study of this literature would be a great advantage to New Testament scholars, but the work is large, and even critical texts of many of the works are still wanting. In the meantime, Schürer's references to the literature are useful, and the reader will do well to remember that his representation of the Jewish method of thinking and legislating is necessarily tentative and incomplete, and may have to be modified by further investigations.

In the following sections there are new and valuable additions to our understanding of the terms *עַם הָאָרֶץ* and *הַבֵּר*, the buildings of the synagogues and the titles connected with them, and the triennial cycle observed in the reading of the law.

The chapter entitled "Das Leben unter dem Gesetz" (Life under the Law) is in some respects very disappointing. The title would lead one to expect a presentation of the life of the common people, with their customs, thoughts, and feelings as moulded by their subjection to the Mosaic Law. But for this, it is not enough to pour out a long stream of ordinances, decrees, disputes from the Mishna, and call this a picture of actual life. The Mishna contains under several headings—such as Sabbath, Blessings, Vessels, etc.—a series of decisions of the authorities on the correct fulfilment of legal requirements. Some of these were decisions given in actual cases brought before the courts; some, on the other hand, are mere academical discussions, which do not seem to have affected actual life at all. Again, these decisions, when they were of practical import, did not weigh in a mass on any individual Jew. Some affected the butcher, the baker, or the cook, others the Temple servants. The terrible burden of the Law, as described by Schürer, was never borne by any individual Jew. In fact, the ordinary man was probably as ignorant of the minutiae of these decisions as the ordinary Englishman of the details of the common law of his country.

In his interpretation of the most characteristic sayings of these legal teachers Schürer is markedly unsympathetic. Thus he quotes such sayings from the Mishna as these: "He who fulfils only one command will have good allotted to him; his days are prolonged, and he will inherit the land" (*Kiddush*, i. 10); "According to the trouble expended will the reward be" (*Aboth*, v. 23); "Know that all will be brought into account" (*Aboth*, iv. 22), etc.; and

then sums up as follows: "Thus this hope of a future recompense was the chief incentive to all zeal for the Law. Indeed, the whole religious life of the Jewish people in our period turned about these two poles: fulfilling of the Law and hope of a future glory." Then the saying of Antigonos of Socho is quoted: "Be not like servants, who serve their masters for the sake of the reward; but be like those who serve without regard to the reward." This of course is damaging to Schürer's statement above, hence it is disposed of in the short sentence: "This is in no way a correct expression of the root-idea (*Grundstimmung*) of Pharisaic Judaism." But it does not stand alone, nor is it in opposition to a more sympathetic interpretation of the very sayings quoted by Schürer above.

If Volume II. tells us much that throws light on the life of Christ, Volume III. is indispensable to all interested in the early spread of Christianity. Few things in history are more startling than the rapidity with which Christianity was accepted in so many parts of the civilised world. This was due in part doubtless to the dissatisfaction with the popular religion in some of these countries. But the largest factor was undoubtedly the previous existence of bands of Jewish settlers. These men possessed one remarkable characteristic: they were energetic in making proselytes. Much of the old provincialism and narrowness fell away from the Jew when he left his own small country and associated with the other civilised peoples. He felt he had a mission to these, and the prophetic visions of the future glory of Israel among the nations now took a new meaning for him. His teaching of the unity of God, His spirituality, the absence of images, the hope of a future life and other features of his religion attracted many of the heathen and made them think it possible, even before the time of Christ, that light might come again as in time past from the East. Thus the Jews did a great work abroad as forerunners of Christianity, and it was nearly always in their meeting-places and through their influence that the Gospel of Christ came first to the nations. Hence the first part of this third volume, dealing with the Jews in the Dispersion, is most attractive. At the same time it shows some of the best work of the author. Schürer's monographs on "*Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit nach den Inschriften dargestellt*" (1879), and "*Die Juden im Bosphoranischen Reiche und die Gemeinschaften der σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὁψιστον*" (1897), are well known to scholars. The same keenness in discerning the value of the inscriptions is manifest here. There are more than fifty pages of new material in this section. The newly-discovered inscriptions from Asia Minor and papyri from Egypt have been used to the full as evidence for the extent of the Dispersion and the internal organisation of the

Jewish communities abroad. The work of other scholars in this field is, of course, associated with Schürer's own. The names of Ramsay and Mahaffy are prominent, while Hogarth and Grenfell are laid under contribution.

Unfortunately, Schürer's interest in the Dispersion is largely confined to that in the Graeco-Roman world. A few pages are all he gives to the Jews in Mesopotamia and Aramaean Syria. To Arabia a dozen lines only are allotted. Yet from the disappearance of Simeon in the early days of Israelitish history to the time of Mohammed, there seems to have been contact between Jews and Arabs, and the presence of Jewish tribes in Arabia in the sixth century seems to have been due to movements that took place during the period treated in this book. As to the organisation of the Jews in Mesopotamia, we are very badly provided with information, and can only wait for the careful and critical sifting of the Talmuds.

The last 428 pages of this volume are devoted to an account of the Jewish Literature of the period, Daniel being the only canonical book included. The division is naturally into Palestinian and Hellenistic literature, but we are rightly reminded that no hard and fast line can be drawn between the two classes. Such works are counted Palestinian as show *substantially* the standpoint of Pharisaic Judaism as formed in Palestine; Hellenistic are those which show in any noteworthy manner the influence of Hellenism.

The external history of the works mentioned is the chief contribution of Schürer in this department. Accounts of manuscripts, references to early quotations in the Fathers, critical estimates of the value of available texts, with lists of editions, commentaries and monographs, make the book invaluable to any one who wishes to pursue more detailed investigations. Many critical editions have been published since 1886, and the progress thus made is carefully recorded. Further help will be afforded in the study of some of the Jewish writers of Alexandria, when Archdeacon Gifford's text of Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* appears. Schürer still supports the genuineness of the writings of Aristobulus in opposition to the polemic of Elter; but declines to accept the arguments of Conybeare and others for the authenticity of Philo's *De vita contemplativa*.

Enough has perhaps been said to show what a fund of material is contained in these two volumes. It would be a great boon if a careful translation of this new edition could be made, so that every English student of the time of Christ might avail himself of the riches provided.

G. W. THATCHER.

The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels.

Re-edited from two Sinai MSS. and from P. de Lagarde's Edition of the "Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum." By A. S. Lewis and M. D. Gibson. London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1899. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins. x 9 ins. Pp. lxxii. 320. Price, £2, 12s. 6d.

IMPORTANT additions have recently been made to our relics of the literature of the dialect known as "Palestinian Syriac." The lady, who with her sister, Mrs Gibson, has braved the toils of more than one journey to Mount Sinai, and has introduced to scholars the text of the now famous *Codex Lewisianus*, published four years ago a Lectionary in Palestinian Syriac, which she had acquired during her travels in the East, and has recently edited from Sinaitic MSS. a still more valuable and interesting Lectionary of the Holy Gospels. It forms a handsome volume, and is brought out in a style which reflects much credit on the work of the printers. The production of such books is an unremunerative labour of love. The debt we owe to the able editresses precludes hypercriticism. To the printer we will impute the spelling 'Carshuni' on p. xiv., and the same word with a *K*, almost opposite, on p. xv. The hand of the Cambridge resident appears in the termination *Magdalene*, p. xvii., and we pardon the ladies for not being aware that Mr Stenning is no longer a Demy of Magdalen, but has attained a well merited position by his election to a Fellowship at Wadham, the College where he was educated, and which through its Hody Exhibitions has done much to promote the study of Hebrew in Oxford.

Our knowledge of the dialect and literature to which Mrs Lewis' Lectionaries belong dates from the middle of last century, when the Assemani, in their Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in the Vatican, described a Syriac Evangelium, in a peculiar script and dialect. It remained an unique specimen till a quarter of a century ago, when Dr Land published, in addition to some fragments of the Gospels, portions of other parts of the Scriptures and of hymns and homilies, from MSS. in London and St Petersburg. Other publications have followed, which show that though the existing remains of Palestinian Syriac Literature do not comprise a large amount of matter, they are varied in character, and represent a translation of part, at least, of the Bible, translations of Patristic writings, and Liturgical works. These editions are mentioned by Mrs Lewis, and she adds a notice, which seems to point to something of special importance. Amongst some fragments brought from Cairo to Cambridge by Dr Schechter in 1897, are palimpsest

leaves of Palestinian Syriac, written over in Hebrew. The original handwriting is a copy of parts of the Old Testament. 'Where the text of Hosea ends that of Joel begins, a space of nine lines being left between them, and there is no trace of a rubric.' Such an arrangement seems to belong to a copy of the Bible, rather than to a Lectionary. A like deduction may be drawn from the break in the text, and the colophon, between *Colossians* and 1 *Thessalonians* in the fragments of the Pauline Epistles, which were edited by the present writer.¹ At the time of that edition, it was thought that the MSS. to which the Oxford fragments belonged were unique in containing Hebrew transcribed over Christian writings. Dr Schechter's fragments seem to be of similar character. Perhaps his leaves belonged to the same MSS. as those from which the Oxford leaves were taken. We would express the hope that they will soon be published, that scholars may form an opinion of them.

The text contained in Mrs Lewis' two MSS. taken together, comprises about the same portions of the Holy Gospels, which were already found in the Vatican Evangelium, but sixty verses, which were wanting in the latter codex, are contained in Mrs Lewis', so that a valuable addition is made to the amount of Palestinian Syriac text. More important, however, is the evidential value of the later discovery. The two younger MSS. support the older codex, and have a point of curious and close connection with it. All three have at the conclusion of Lesson xlviii. (John viii. 2) the words *Here endeth the Gospel of John*. Whatever may be the explanation of this inappropriate Note, it demonstrates a common, if remote, origin for the three texts. But the three MSS. are also independent, in so far that neither can well be a copy of either of the others. They seem to show that works of the kind were not uncommon in this dialect of Syriac speech, while, in conjunction with the other fragments, they indicate that a knowledge of the dialect was perpetuated in widely separated localities. We would remind those of our readers, who have not made a special study of "Palestinian" Syriac, that the title is rather provisional and conjectural than accurate and final. When J. D. Michaëlis and Adler observed that many of the grammatical forms were akin to those of the Chaldee and the dialect of the Jerusalem Targum, and that many of the words in the Lectionary could only be illustrated from the same sources, the work received the name of *Jerusalem Syriac Version*; but as there was no reason for connecting it with one particular city, it was subsequently called 'Christian-Palestinian,' in contrast to the more distinctly *Jewish* Palestinian dialects, to which it is related. Yet of none of the Christian-Palestinian frag-

¹ *The Palestinian Version of the Holy Scriptures*, Anecdota Oxoniensia, 1893.

ments can we affirm for certain that they were written in Palestine. The Vatican Lectionary was written in an unknown place called 'Antioch of the Arabs.'¹ Mrs Lewis' Evangelitaria, and several other Palestinian documents, are preserved in the Convent of St Catherine, on Mount Sinai. The vendor of Mrs Lewis' other Lectionary informed her that it came from the village of Rashif, in the Lebanon; the colophon, with date and place, has disappeared. Again, some of the Palestinian remains have come from Egypt, and it has even been suggested that the dialect is not Palestinian after all, but that of a people of Jewish descent, who had their home in Egypt. The Palestinian *Liturgy of the Nile*² is proof that there existed in Egypt a community of Christians who used the Palestinian dialect. Mrs Lewis' Lectionary may have belonged to this community, as its origin in the Lebanon is unconfirmed by evidence outside the verbal statement of the vendor, and one reading of a rubric assigns Gen. ii. 4-19 to 'the day of the consecration of the water of the inundation.' But the reading is doubtful, and the editress inclines to prefer 'water of baptism.' It may have been that the 'Palestinian' Christians had their headquarters in Egypt during the centuries to which most of our fragments belong. But if so, they were immigrants, driven from the Holy Land in early days of persecution. Others of the same body perhaps found refuge amongst the fastnesses of Sinai. The descendants of the expelled Jewish Christians preserved the use of the obsolete ancestral dialect, as the Nestorians to this day employ the ancient and sometimes unknown Syriac in their church services. In Mrs Lewis' Lectionary most of the rubrics are in Syriac, but in her Evangelitaria, and in the Vatican, they are in Karshuni, Arabic written in Syriac characters. We wish it were possible to identify the 'Palestinian' Syriac with the language spoken by our Lord. Related they undoubtedly were, but, and we say it with regret, facts and inferences have not yet enabled us to bridge over the interval between the Palestinian Remains and the dialect of Galilee in the time of Christ, and to estimate the changes which must have taken place.

The Vatican Evangelarium and the two which Mrs Lewis discovered contain the same work, though in somewhat different form in each codex. It is a collection of Lessons from the Four Gospels for the ecclesiastical year. Lessons i.-cxlii. are arranged in the same order in the three MSS., and with a few slight

¹ There were at least six Antiochs, and, in the eleventh century, more than one might have been under Arab domination, but none of these was in the Holy Land. The suggestion that the Antioch named above was "perhaps near Jerusalem" seems a mere conjecture.

² See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1896.

variations, consist of the same portions. Other Lessons follow in Codex B¹ up to No. cxi., most being contained in Codex C, and in similar order. A large proportion occur also in Codex A, but the order is very different. The text is the same in all three. There are *variae lectiones*, more, indeed, than are found between any three good copies of the Peshitto, but not comparable with the amount of variation which there is between the Curetonian text and the text of the codex Lewisianus.² The difference of matter, and in the arrangement of it, prove that the three MSS. are not three direct copies of one lost archetype. They represent more than one line of descent, or may be regarded as adaptations of an original form of Lectionary. The circle embraced by writings of this class is seen to be much wider than might have been suspected from the single example of the Vatican Evangelium. B is dated "from the years of Adam," 6612, C 6626. If (with Mrs Lewis) we take these dates according to the Era of Constantinople, we get A.D. 1104 for B, 1118 for C. The date of A is A.D. 1030. The reader will find an excellent photograph of B facing p. 168, and one of C facing p. 201. These are not mentioned in the contents.

The Lectionary represented by the three MSS. is 'Malchite.' This epithet refers to a Sect rather than a Rite. The *Malcaje* were the 'King's Men,' who followed the Court party in accepting the Creed of Chalcedon, when many of the Eastern Christians remained Monophysite. They borrowed largely from the Greeks in the arrangement of Services and Lectionaries, while the Nestorians and Jacobites had their own more distinctly Syrian Uses. 'Malchite' is now applied as a descriptive epithet for Greek Service Books in a Syriac rendering, whether in the idiom of Damascus and the Lebanon, or in the Palestinian dialect. MSS. of the former are extant, which were written in the same century as Mrs Lewis' Palestinian B and C. Mrs Lewis quotes some words of mine, as if I denied by them that the Palestinian Lectionaries are translations from the Greek. Perhaps I expressed myself too strongly. It might have been better to say, "there is no proof that they are *mere* translations." Dr Nestle's one instance does not amount to a demonstration. Indeed this seems unattainable, till we have some undoubted portions of a complete version of the Scripture, with which to compare the Liturgical portions of A, B, C, and Mrs Lewis' other Lectionary. We may venture to conjecture that the Translator, while modelling his Lectionary on the

¹ In the edition under review, A stands for the Vatican Evangelium, B for the older, C for the younger of the Evangelia edited by Mr Lewis and Mrs Gibson.

² See *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1895; *Critical Review*, January 1896.

Greek, had before him a Syro-Palestinian Bible, perhaps a Peshitto, perhaps a Harclean. From the latter Mr Margoliouth has shown that a reading is borrowed in the Liturgy of the Nile. If the reader will compare the Menology of A, as given in *Scrivener*, ed. iv. vol. ii. p. 32, with that of a Greek Lectionary in vol. i. of the same work, he will see that the translator and redactor allowed himself considerable liberty in adapting the Scripture Lessons to the Commemorations common in his native land.

A long and very useful list, with Mrs Lewis' initials subscribed, is given of "Variants in the three Codices." The first place is given to "Omissions due to Homoeoteleuton." The reference seems to be to Homoeoteleuton in the Greek Text. Such omission would imply that the translator went on rendering *ex tempore*, and made no attempt to revise his work, which is hard to believe, though we do not deny that a certain number of omissions may be due to careless haste. Others have arisen through carelessness in transcribing the Syriac texts of the present MSS. The cause of many is to be sought in the character of the work. Passages in an Evangelium are adapted to a particular purpose. We do not expect in such a book the scrupulousness which marks the copying of an Evangelium.

The list of other Variants will be studied with interest by those to whom the body of the work does not appeal. The comparison is made with the Text of Westcott and Hort. A slight examination will suffice to show that B and C, while presenting some readings of their own, combine to support the text of A, and consequently the type of Greek text, which has long been recognised as forming the basis of that document. B and C, like A, contain the *Last Twelve Verses of St Mark*, but not the *Pericope de Adultera*. They have only viii. 1, 2, appended to the Lesson from John vii. 37 f. At the end of Lesson lxxvii. C has a reading of exceptional interest. Instead of the familiar words of Matt. xii. 36, it alone reads, "Every good word that men shall not speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment." The opinion of Dr Rendel Harris is quoted, that this once constituted the limb of a Logion.

A few readings are added from the remains of another Lectionary, now bound up with B. They all belong to St John. At viii. 2 is *Here endeth*, as in A, B, and C, but the rest of the Note is wanting.

G. H. GWILLIAM.

Kaehler's Dogmatische Zeitfragen.

Dogmatische Zeitfragen, alte und neue Ausführungen zur Wissenschaft der christlichen Lehre. Zweites Heft: Zur Lehre von der Versöhnung. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf.; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1898. Pp. vi. 482. Price, Heft 1, 5s.: Heft 2, 8s. 6d.: the two parts together, 12s. 6d.

PROFESSOR MARTIN KAEHLER'S well-known book, *Die Wissenschaft der christlichen Lehre von den evangelischen Grundartikeln* aus, of which the second edition was published in 1893, ensures a welcome to other writings from his pen. And one is glad to see the successive parts of his *Doctrinal Questions of the Day*.

The First Part gives mainly reprints of previous pamphlets revised, such as "Christianity and System," "The Progress of Humanity and the Eternity of Man," "Unconscious and Conscious Christianity," "Why is it so Hard to Gain a Firm Faith To-day," "Justification of Petition in Prayer," "The New Testament View of the Church," "The Importance of the Doctrine of the Last Things for Theology and the Church." These essays were worth reprinting, and they show the class of subjects in which Dr Kaehler is most at home. He desires to have a voice in the settlement of present-day controversies. He has, too, the gifts of clearness, definiteness, and style.

In this Second Part, Dr Kaehler treats of the Doctrine of Reconciliation (*Versöhnung*—not the exact equivalent of our English term "Atonement."). The treatment is suggestive and full. Indeed, standing as this doctrine does midway in the System of Doctrine, implying so much else and involving so much besides, Dr Kaehler, like all recent investigators of the subject, really presents us with a large contribution towards a system of Christian doctrine. The examination of the general theme is prefaced by a careful study of the usage of the word *Versöhnung* in German theology. Then follows an introduction, in which the dominating position of the Doctrine of Reconciliation in Protestant Theology is shown. After this preface and introduction, the subject is treated in a twofold way, Biblically and systematically. The points of view from which the Biblical testimony are considered are as follows: The Son of Man and His Mission to Humanity; The Son of God and His Obedience; the Death and Resurrection of the Lord, on the one hand, in the light of His preaching and life, and, on the other hand, in the light of the preaching of His Messengers. Under this last heading, a very luminous statement is given of the teaching of Peter, Paul, and John, of the Apocalypse,

and of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The main questions debated in the Dogmatic Section are: The Reconciliation through Jesus as the Ground of the Christian's Faith, Life and Conduct (it is argued that the change of relation between the sinner and God, betokened by the forgiveness of sins, is indubitably effected by Jesus): Who is the Reconciler? (the answer given is, God); The Effecting of Reconciliation (here the ideas of Atonement, Forgiveness, Substitution, and Punishment are studied); Who has God Reconciled, the Church or the World? Consequences of Reconciliation in Life and in Conduct.

Like all Kaehler's work—he most resembles Julius Koestlin among modern German theologians—this study is pre-eminently Biblical. But search is made in Holy Scripture for the solution of pressing German problems mainly. The Doctrine of the Atonement has had a development all its own in English-speaking countries, a development almost unknown, or at least not sympathetically known, in Protestant Germany. Consequently, this essay of Kaehler's is a contribution almost wholly to the doctrinal questions of the day in Germany.

ALFRED CAVE.

Dogmatische Zeitfragen.

Alte und neue Ausführungen zur Wissenschaft der christlichen Lehre, von Martin Kähler, D.u. Professor der Theologie. Erstes Heft. Leipzig: Deichert (Georg Böhme); London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1898. 8vo, pp. xii. 276. Price, M.5.

It is not often that a more interesting or rewarding theological volume than the above-mentioned work by Professor Kähler, of Halle, issues from the German press. No one in the Fatherland is better fitted than he to discuss "Dogmatic Questions of the Day," for his mind is a singularly impressive combination of Biblical scholarship and spiritual insight. These papers show a knowledge of the Scriptures which astonishes one by its accuracy and profundity, and wins one by its simplicity and reverence. We may well be grateful to him for having been persuaded to collect these scattered studies in theology into a single volume, for had they not been exhumed from the pages of old periodicals our loss would have been great. Kähler is not so well known in this country as he deserves to be. And no doubt for this in great measure he has himself to thank. His *Wissenschaft der christlichen Lehre* is written with a more than German disregard for

the amenities of style, its matter is difficult and obscure, while the terminology is often unintelligible to the uninitiated. But, fortunately, the papers here presented—intended to elucidate and supplement the *Wissenschaft*—are properly lectures, spoken before they were written, or at least before they were published. Consequently, they are clad in a more colloquial dress, and avoid, so far as possible, the obscurities of technical phraseology. It is not at all necessary to know his *Wissenschaft* in order to enjoy them to the full. They are, in the strict sense, contributions to Systematic Theology. One of the functions of *Systematik*, according to Kähler, is to mediate between the historical investigation and criticism, carried on by theology as a science, and the changing needs of the Christian Church. And what he endeavours to do in this volume is so to interpret the results of theological research in various directions, as to render them serviceable to the Christian life of ordinary people.

The essays contained in this volume are nine in number, and the mere enumeration of their titles is sufficient to show how timely and apposite their discussion is. They are: "Christianity and Systematic Theology," "The progress of humanity and the eternity of the individual," "Conscious and unconscious Christianity," "The attitude of the Church's preachers and professors to modern theology," "Why is it so difficult at the present time to reach a steadfast faith?" "The Scriptural Confession of the Spirit of Christ," "The justification and the trustworthiness of petitionary prayer," "The true conception of the Apostolic Churches according to the New Testament," "The significance of 'the last things' for theology and the Church." We cannot hope to deal in this review with all these lectures, worthy as they are, without exception, of the most careful study. There is not a page which does not testify to the spiritual genius of the author, and to the sureness with which he strikes the New Testament note upon the various topics discussed. But perhaps we shall best gain some idea of his style of thought by entering more in detail into the argument of one or two of these essays.

Perhaps the third essay is as characteristic as any. It has for its title, "Conscious and unconscious Christianity." Kähler begins by adverting to the buoyancy and certainty of the faith of the Apostle Paul, whose words, "I know whom I have believed," might well be taken as the motto of his own devoted life. This assurance made him strong, and, so far as we can re-echo his words, we share the power and immovable firmness of the Christian character. To know whom one believes is apostolical Christianity.

But nowadays knowledge would appear to be taking the place of faith. Science, it is said, proves that there are many things in the

world incompatible with our Christian beliefs. We know that miracles do not happen; we know that Jesus was only one religious genius among many; we know that the narratives of His life are only fairy tales. If this be so, and we still profess Christianity, does it not appear as though we must be content only to know in whom we do *not* believe. Unconscious Christianity, indeed, is a discovery made by those who wish to preserve the moralising power of Christianity without adhering to its creed. All, they say, live in the power of Christianity, only they do not know it. Take the veil from their eyes, and they will recognise themselves as Christians. But, it may be objected, when they awaken to a sense of their Christianity, will they not be of very different opinions as to what Christianity means? How are we to escape the separation and division which inevitably accompanies the attempt to *know* what Christianity really is? Nothing is simpler. Let us only be consistent; let us say, Christianity in its very essence is unconscious, and though we must certainly be aware of the *fact* that we are Christians, yet we need not be conscious of any specifically Christian experience. Christianity consists in a certain kind of moral life which can exist without being conscious, for it is not thought, but life and action.

Now, is this vague sentiment, with its pale recognition of a ghostly Christ, really *faith*? Is it the legitimate descendant of the apostolic confession? It is impossible to think so. It may be said, of course, and with much truth, that there are large provinces of the inner life of religion which might fitly be termed unconscious. It is a true instinct which leads us to prefer the theology of the heart to mere orthodoxy, and no one can be blind to the danger we run, in religious speculation, of agreeing less the more questions we ask. What we have to do, then, is to attempt to determine the true limits of conscious and unconscious Christianity.

There is a fundamental conception in apologetics which may be stated in the form, that the soul is Christian by nature (*mens naturaliter Christiana*). Kant himself tells us that when we follow the soul home, so to speak, we hear sounding in its depths the call and categorical command of duty; and duty can have its perfect work only when that higher Power, whose voice it is, is taken as an ally against the lower forces of our nature. Many words of Schiller might be quoted in which the same thought is clad in a poetic and imaginative dress. He and many others are witnesses that the soul is naturally Christian in its highest efforts and its noblest dreams.

Such is the view taken by many of the greatest thinkers of the age. But let us pause and put the question—Is this genuine Christianity? No; no more than hunger is repletion, or need,

satisfaction. It is a longing for Christianity, but it remains unconscious of its real aim until satisfied by a truly divine experience. Observe, for instance, how matters stood in Israel of old. There we find not only a yearning for satisfaction, but a sure hope that some day it will come; and yet, alongside of these, the deepest and most painful dissatisfaction with the present. What the prophets and psalmists looked for so eagerly was not a better knowledge of God, not a nobler morality, but life from God, nay, God Himself. And this, and nothing less than this, is what was brought by Jesus, Son of God and Son of Man.

Again, what view do the Apostles take of the matter? It is plain from their writings that they regard personal Christianity as consisting in trustful surrender to the living Christ, invisible and yet indissoluble fellowship with the glorified Lord. And when we consider this view of genuine Christianity, is it not clear that there is a vast difference between recognising that one has been unconsciously influenced by Christianity, and the claim to be consciously a Christian? For the latter implies the free resolve "to step from the courtyard into the sanctuary," and there claim the Man whose name is the greatest in all history as the foundation and aim of one's life. For this no great amount of knowledge is necessary. It is in the power of the least cultured to say, "Christ is the highest in the highest realm that I know." We have, indeed, no right to deny the comfortable name of Christian to anyone who is striving after this deep fellowship with Christ, without as yet rejoicing in the full possession of it; but he must *strive*, he must *know* that this is the aim of his life.

Let us ask, finally, what is the importance of knowledge about Christ for fellowship with His Church? Now, it is true that religion is an affair of the heart, but can Christianity remain merely that? To say that it can is in many ways attractive, but what more does it do for us then than help us the better to perform our earthly duties? And yet we know that Christianity is not designed to reconcile us with this world and make us at home here, but to point us beyond. Further, participation, in a living and practical way, in the work of the Church demands from us a clear consciousness of what we are about. The Christian fellowship is not a *natural* organisation into which individuals grow up without knowing it. What links us to it is our decided surrender to Christ, *i.e.* a moral *act*. Now the outward and overt expression of this is confession, but who can confess himself a disciple of a Person without knowing him? And if it still be said, it is better to love Christ than to possess knowledge, knowledge even of Him, then you cannot meet that assertion with a simple Yes or No. The point really is, what sort of knowledge is meant. The knowledge

which makes the Christian is not empty, formal, traditional information, but the knowledge, rich and ever-new, which springs from the obedience of faith as nourished by Scripture.

To sum up, let us confront the words of Jesus, "I know my sheep and am known of mine," with the words of Paul already quoted, "I know in whom I have believed." Conscious Christianity is the only genuine form of our religion.

A dry synopsis like the foregoing can give no adequate idea of the richness and wisdom of Kähler's pages. What he writes is the outcome of profound, devout, inexorable thinking on the deepest things in life. The reader is conscious of a wonderful affinity between the tone and temper of the argument and the spirit of the New Testament writers.

Perhaps the most interesting and instructive among the other lectures is the last, which discusses the significance of eschatology for theology and the Church. Kähler begins by adverting to the disinclination evinced by theologians at present to say anything at all on the topic of "the last things." But, he contends, the Christian hope is an integral part of our religion, and as the origin of hope lies not in the force of our minds, but in the nature of the object hoped in, we must keep that object clearly in view. Now, among Protestants it used to be the custom to define "the last things" as *four* in number—death, the return of Christ, judgment, eternal life. But, in reality, there is only one, one "last" Person, Christ Jesus, who is also the "first"; so that the doctrine of the last things is part of our confession of the living Christ. After a most illuminating account of the gradual revival of interest in this whole subject in the Evangelical Church of Germany at the beginning of this century, Kähler proceeds to draw out in detail the benefits which he believes must accrue to theology from a clear and positive eschatology.

First of all, he insists that eschatology gives the Church a sense for history, such as is entirely lacking in the writers of antiquity. It forces the theologian not only to ascertain what in the past is probable or real, but to attempt to understand what has happened in the light of the far-off consummation. Again, without eschatology, no Christology; for the doctrine of the last things is bound up, indissolubly, with the question of the Person of Christ. None but the Judge can be the Saviour. Christ is unintelligible unless His Person is of infinite significance *both before and after*. Once more, without eschatology, no soteriology. Salvation really relates to the divine wrath which rests upon the world; it means, at its centre, the forgiveness of sins, and we see sin as it really is only when we conceive ourselves standing before the judgment-seat. Still further, without eschatology, no Christian ethics. Some have

thought it incompatible with a truly ideal system of ethics, but the very opposite is the case. For only those can give themselves to work for God with utter self-forgetfulness who possess a joyous assurance of salvation. The asceticism proper to the Christian life could not otherwise be faced. As Tholuck has well said: "None but the Christian can live entirely in the present, for his past is blotted out, and his future is assured." The Christian draws his strength for duty *here and now* from the hope of a new and glorious future. And without eschatology, no theodicy. Without a clear doctrine of the last things, pessimism has us at its mercy, especially when we keep in sight the sorrows and privations of the individual life. Kähler sums up his argument by affirming that there is, for the Church, a source of victorious confidence in the belief that the living Saviour will return in triumph. Christ demands watchfulness and courage, lest we be crushed by the sense of our responsibilities; He demands patience in success as well as in failure. The delay in Christ's return is a proof of God's long-suffering rather than an evidence of His powerlessness. Our hope lies not in the ardour of our own faith, but in the indwelling of that Christ with whom our life is hid in God.

We may refer briefly to the wisdom and sagacious penetration of the fourth lecture on the relation of "modern" theology to the Evangelical Church, to the deep spirituality of the discussion of the value of prayer, and to a specially interesting paper on a subject which still requires elucidation—the moral and religious life in the Apostolic Churches. Kähler desires to correct what he considers the unduly pessimistic view taken nowadays of those congregations which Paul addresses in his letters; and he contends that the exegesis of the Pauline literature would gain not a little were expositors better acquainted with the experiences of modern missionaries. But enough has been said to show how eminently valuable a contribution has been made in this book to the better understanding of the relation which ought to exist between traditional theology and modern thought. In Kähler's hands, dogmas and formulas, which may too hastily have been cast aside as antiquated and outworn, become suffused with light and charged with fresh vitality. One cannot take leave of his work without again expressing the hope that what he has written may find a wide audience in this country, and win for him something of the same unique influence which in his fatherland he has long enjoyed among those best qualified to judge.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

**The Epistle to the Hebrews: The First Apology for
Christianity. An Exegetical Study.**

*By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and
New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. Post 8vo, pp. 1-451.
Price, 7s. 6d.*

AN "Exegetical Study" by Dr Bruce is always sure to rouse high expectations. No one approaches the N.T. with a clearer eye, and few can place before their readers a more vivid picture of what they see. This is the kind of work in which Dr Bruce is seen at his best. He is not hampered by having to labour slowly from verse to verse, from clause to clause. His exegesis can move forward in broad sweeps. He can focus from time to time his luminous impressions.

The book is not strictly new. Most of its chapters have already appeared in the *Expositor*. But the whole has undergone revision. Portions here and there have been rewritten. A new chapter has been added on the "Theological Import of the Epistle." And many valuable footnotes have been furnished, bearing on the detailed interpretation of the text, which bring the work into line with the recent literature on the epistle.

Dr Bruce makes it perfectly clear that his aim is "to interpret the spirit of the book." That means, in this case, "power to realise that none of these now familiar truths" (e.g. the New Covenant, Christianity a higher type than Leviticalism, the supreme worth of Christ's priestly offering), "were commonplaces for its author." "It was the vivid perception of this fact," he says, "that awakened in me a desire to unfold its significance to others" (p. 389). Accordingly, from the outset, he deals with the Epistle in the light of what he conceives to be the writer's aim, namely, "to show the excellence of Christianity to a community possessing a very defective insight into its true nature." That is why he adds as a sub-title to the book, "The First Apology for Christianity." Everyone will admit the truth of the first part of the above description. The second confronts us with various controverted questions. Was it the defective insight of his readers into the true nature of the Christian faith which primarily roused this powerful Christian thinker to write his Epistle? The answer depends wholly on our conception of the situation implied in the letter itself. Dr Bruce leaves us in no doubt as to his own view. He adheres firmly to the traditional opinion that the Epistle is addressed to Jewish Christians exclusively. While regarding the

question of locality as one of secondary importance, he is inclined again to favour tradition, and assign the community addressed to Jerusalem, or, in any case, to Palestine. As to the spiritual situation he is equally explicit. "They were in danger of apostatising from the faith, because of persecution endured on account of it, and also because of doubts concerning its truth" (p. 7). But the latter danger he evidently regards as by far the more prominent of the two. It is this which the writer keeps ever before him. For those doubts regarding the truth of Christianity are largely due to the hold which the old Levitical religion still has upon them. And the apostasy is likely to take the form of a relapse into Judaism. It is for this reason, chiefly, that the writer engages in so elaborate a comparison of the two systems. It is for this reason that he sets himself to prove Christianity to be the final, perfect religion, calling men into an intimate relation with God which had never been dreamed of under the law of Moses.

In this conception of the situation there is, naturally, abundant room for discussion. As to the *readers*, Dr Bruce wastes little space in dealing with the hypothesis that the Epistle may be addressed to Gentile Christians. He quotes with approval Westcott's opinion that this theory (supported by such strong names as Weizsäcker, Jülicher, and Von Soden) is simply "an ingenious paradox." Now we willingly admit that there are powerful arguments in favour of an exclusively Jewish-Christian Church (although surely not Jerusalem), but we can scarcely think that the fact is placed beyond all doubt. What one is so apt to leave out of sight is the distinctively O.T. background of early Christianity as a whole. Take, for example, a book like Clement's letter to the Corinthians. This is a Gentile, writing to a predominantly Gentile Church, and yet the whole Epistle is saturated with the O.T. Or, look at Paul's arguments in "Romans" and "Galatians." No one would now deny that in the Roman as well as the Galatian Church a large Gentile element must have existed. And yet the Apostle never imagines that the O.T. foundation on which he builds up most of his elaborate reasonings will fail to have weight. Add to this the fact that in every Gentile Church, proselytes and God-fearers who had been imbued with O.T. teaching formed an important stratum, and it is not so entirely unreasonable to believe that in the Church with which our Epistle is concerned, Gentiles also may have held some place. We have seen nothing yet to weaken the presumption that the "first principles of Christ" enumerated in ch. vi. 1, 2, are more applicable to converts from heathenism than to Jews.

As to the *spiritual situation* of the readers, Dr Bruce, of course, admits that one side of the peril besetting this Church is a wavering

under the stress of persecution and hardship. But the other side is that which chiefly appeals to him. The readers are persons "who have never had insight into the essential nature and distinctive features of the Christian religion" (p. 9). Besides, there are "things connected with Christianity which are stumbling-blocks" to them. Mainly these: (1) "the superseding of an ancient, divinely appointed religion by what appeared to be a novelty and an innovation"; (2) "the humiliation and sufferings of Jesus regarded as the Christ"; (3) the lack of a priesthood and sacrificial worship in Christianity. This conception of their condition implies the risk of a relapse into Judaism. Therefore, while the writer will, at times, keep in view their need of strengthening and encouragement in the Christian life, his main aim must be to save them from the peril of Judaism by setting forth the incomparable superiority of the new religion over the old, on which they are casting lingering looks.

Where we find ourselves compelled to differ somewhat from Dr Bruce is at this point. Keeping strictly by the hints which the Epistle gives us, we cannot help feeling that the chief purpose of the writer is to brace up Christians who were becoming heedless (3⁸), faithless (3¹², 4¹¹), sluggish and slothful (6¹²), timid (10¹⁰), faltering and uncertain (10^{22, 35}), weary and disheartened (12^{1, 3}): that he has to deal, in short, with a *mood*, rather than a definite group of religious difficulties. To save them from moral and spiritual languor, from the awful peril of renouncing Christianity altogether, it is needful to remind them of the unspeakable excellence of the Christian faith, and above all, to show them the exact provision it makes for their need. To bring near to them that unseen world which their slowness of mind and heart was failing to grasp, Christianity is shown to be pre-eminently the religion of free access into God's presence. To prove that they have every reason for hope, although the ground of it lies beyond what is visible, they are taught (no doubt, far more fully and clearly than ever before) that in Christ they have an ever-living High Priest who knows and sympathises with their troubles, on whom they can for ever depend as their representative in the presence of God. Nay, their hope rests on the very promise of God Himself, who has entered into a new covenant with them, of which Jesus Christ is the mediator. And the writer bases his elaborate arguments on the O.T., as the standard of reference for all religious truth in the Christian Church. He himself calls his letter a "word of exhortation" (13²²): each section of doctrine finds its issue in some solemn entreaty or warning. But in none of them is a falling back into Judaism hinted at, although this might be one of several possible dangers. Not even in his direct references to the O.T. For

these have little to do, in any case, with the Judaism of N.T. times. They go back to a far earlier stage, the stage represented in the O.T. And that stage is not disparaged, but, as Dr Bruce admits, generously recognised (p. 17). It is only shown to be utterly inferior to the type of religion which Christ has brought in. If the earlier type produced saints like Moses and Aaron and the other heroes and heroines of Israel, surely this new covenant, so superior at every point, is well worthy of being seriously considered. Surely its provisions are ample for bringing conviction to the most faint-hearted, even for making men proud that they are privileged to be sharers in its blessings. And so we are willing to admit, although in a slightly different sense from Dr Bruce, that this Epistle is truly a splendid apology for the Christian faith.

Beginning with an Introduction, Dr Bruce goes on to expound the Epistle in sections, taking them, for the most part consecutively: once or twice, as in chapter 2 of the Epistle, coming back to questions of special importance for separate discussion. Within our limits, it may, perhaps, be most useful to give a short *résumé* of the new chapter which has been added on the "Theological Import of the Epistle," as this admirably sums up the results of the detailed exegesis. Afterwards we will return to a few points of particular interest.

The outstanding distinction of the Christian faith, as described in this Epistle, is "that it brings men near to God." In this respect it is contrasted with the old Levitical religion. This contrast really rests on the difference "in their respective provisions for dealing with human sin." Leviticalism could not make the worshippers certain of God's willingness to receive and forgive. That means that its sacerdotal system was a failure. The writer must, therefore, prove that Christianity satisfies the needs of the case. Hence the Priesthood of Christ, entirely sufficient, occupies a central place in this Epistle. This is simply one aspect of a larger idea which the author took for granted, that of salvation by *mediation*. The question is: What kind of mediator will be adequate to such a function. To clear his readers' minds of difficulties which might arise, seeing that Jesus had no connexion with the priestly tribe of Levi, the figure of Melchisedec is introduced. The line of argument followed in chapter 7, by which the "Order of Melchisedec" is set in its true light may, as Dr Bruce reminds us, appear strained to modern readers. It would be good, therefore, if so important a doctrine as the Priesthood of Christ could be built up on a more satisfying foundation. He finds valuable suggestions in the Epistle itself for this purpose. These centre round two great principles: *self-sacrifice* and *solidarity with*

*sinner*s. "If you want a name for one who is uniquely self-devoted and endowed with unparalleled sympathy with sinful men, what better can you find than *Priest*?" (p. 433). The one principle finds utterance in chapter 2¹¹: the other, the sacrifice of Christ is repeatedly brought forward (*e.g.* 2⁹, 7²⁷ 9¹⁴). But this writer is extraordinarily versatile in his way of dealing with Christ's priesthood and sacrifice. He views the death of Jesus, Dr Bruce points out, under five different aspects (pp. 436-437). (a) He died once, thus sharing the common lot of men (9²⁷). (b) He died "as a testator, who by a will, bequeaths an inheritance" (9¹⁶). (c) His death was the crowning-point of a manifold experience of suffering which trained Him for His great function of being "Captain of Salvation" (2¹⁰). (d.) His death, as that of "a sinless man," "broke the connexion between sin and death as its penalty, and so delivered sinful men from the fear of death as penal" 2¹⁴, 15). (e) His death "was a priestly act of self-sacrifice" by which He "perfected for ever them that are sanctified" (10¹⁴). While recognising the supreme importance of the last view, Dr Bruce considers that it is a serious loss for any theology if it does not also lay stress on the third aspect which looks upon the cross as coming to Christ, "because He cared supremely for the Divine interest and for duty." But this conception of Christ as priest involves a very high idea of His nature and person. He is the Son and the Sanctifier. That means absolute holiness and a place within the sphere of the Divine. This position specially appealed to the writer. "The greater the condescension, the greater the merit of the self-sacrifice, and the higher the dignity the greater the condescension" (p. 440). At the same time, full justice is done to the self-humbling of the Son. "Nowhere else in the N.T. are the earthly lot and human behaviour of Jesus depicted in such vivid and life-like colours" (p. 443). Of course, this is with the view of setting in clear relief His ability to sympathise with those undergoing hard earthly experiences. As we have seen, the particular aspect of Christianity emphasised in the epistle is the open way into the presence of a merciful God. Therefore, *faith* must come into the foreground, for "faith in man answers to grace in God" (p. 447). But there is some difference in the form which faith takes here, as compared, *e.g.* with the epistles of Paul. In the latter, Dr Bruce observes, "the action of faith . . . is confined to the moral and religious sphere." Here a larger view is adopted, faith being regarded "as a principle which enters into and is the secret spring of all great heroic conduct." "It is the faith which sees God, the world above, the life beyond the veil, which, in the view of our Epistle, emphatically *saves*" (p. 449).

This brief outline of Dr Bruce's summary may give a slight

idea of the rich, thought-provoking material which the book contains throughout.

We may note, in the remaining part of this review, how some of the crucial passages in the epistle are dealt with. Take, *e.g.*, chap. 9¹⁴: *ὅς διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου κ.τ.λ.* To reach the explanation of this difficult expression we must feel our way by means of *ἐαυτόν* and *ἄμωμον* following. In the fact that His sacrifice was Himself, there belong to it "certain moral attributes lacking in the Levitical sacrifices: voluntariness and beneficent intention, the freedom of a rational being . . . capable of self-determination, the love of a gracious personality in whom the soul of goodness dwells." But further, in being a *spotless* sacrifice, spotless in the ethical sense, the sacrifice of Christ "possesses incomparable worth and virtue." This prepares us for the third reason of its value. In the old legal sacrifices, the important matter was the shedding and sprinkling of the blood according to correct ritual. In Christ's sacrifice, that of vital moment is the *spirit* in which His blood was shed. The writer might have added some epithet of moral quality; but instead, he chose "eternal" to remind his readers that the "spirit in which the act was done can never become a thing of the past" (p. 339). Thus the sacrifice becomes "retrospective as well as prospective," valid for past, present, and future. "For an eternal spirit is independent of time, and gives to acts done through its inspiration validity for all time" (*loc. cit.*). This seems an eminently suggestive interpretation.

On chap. 10¹⁰: *ἐν ᾧ θελήματι ἡγιασμένοι ἐσμέν κ.τ.λ.*, Dr Bruce protests against the "starved exegesis," which finds here only the thought "that it is God's will that we should be sanctified in this particular way," and argues (surely with justice) for the deeper idea "that it is God's will that sanctifies through the offering."

Readers of the Cunningham Lectures on the *Humiliation of Christ*, will turn with interest to the *cruce* in chap. 2⁹. Here Dr Bruce abides by his old interpretation, regarding the crowning as antecedent to death, "an exaltation in the humiliation." Will the language admit of this explanation? Dr Bruce translates *διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου* "with reference to the suffering of death." But surely that is to beg the question. Whatever may be made of the difficult *ὅπως*-clause at the end, the preceding words must mean: "on account of the suffering . . . crowned, etc." And this is undoubtedly true to the normal N.T. standpoint. The glory of Christ is the reward of the shame and humiliation which went before. The remaining words are, of course, beset with difficulty. But may not the *ὅπως*-clause be simply explanatory of what might seem to be a startling paradox? That the suffering should be the path to glory and honour might be unintelligible to dull-

minded readers unless some light were thrown on the meaning of that death. It was "a tasting death on behalf of every man." The next verse shows the reasonableness of this extraordinary experience.

On chap. 6¹⁻² we are told (and the hint is most fruitful, as far too little has been made of the rhetorical structure of the N.T. Epistles) that the "feeling of impatience with never getting beyond the elements . . . gives rise to an elliptical abruptness of style" (see also p. 324). Perhaps occasionally Dr Bruce is apt to read something of this impatience, from his own standpoint, into his author, as when, on p. 45, he tells us that the subject of angels "was probably a weariness to the writer of our Epistle." No trace of this, at least, appears on the surface. As we cannot go into any further details, we would simply direct attention, among other things, to the admirable treatment of a pedantic exegesis of chap. 4¹² (p. 165): to the delicate and sympathetic discussion of *μετριοπαθεῖν* and its context (pp. 177-182); and finally, to the handling of the hard passage, chap. 6⁴⁻⁸, which seems to us a model of sane and luminous interpretation.

There was room for a more definite estimate of the writer's affinities with Philo and the Alexandrian school. For such affinity undoubtedly existed, and important light must be thrown upon the use of the O.T. in "Hebrews" from a clear perception of the actual relationship. But what has been said will suffice to show that in this volume we have a most living, powerful, and penetrating contribution to the understanding of the Epistle. It is a real invigoration to be guided through a discussion so full of the zest of personal appreciation and genuine sympathy.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with a Critical Introduction.

By George Milligan, B.D., Minister of Caputh, Perthshire. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. Post 8vo, pp. i-xx. 1-233. Price, 6s.

THIS volume is constructed on different lines from that of Dr Bruce. It aims at gathering up the doctrinal teaching of the Epistle, and presenting that in a systematic form. There was certainly room for such a work. And Mr Milligan has carried out his plan with painstaking care and scholarly ability. In parts the book is rather heavy reading, owing to a certain lack of crisp-

ness both in thought and style. But throughout, one is conscious that the author has seriously grappled with the many problems which the Epistle presents. And, as a rule, great saneness of judgment is applied to their solution.

The book is divided into two parts. The first is an Introduction to the Epistle. The second deals with its theology. We almost think it was a pity that Mr Milligan should occupy so much space with the history of the Epistle in the Church and its authorship. A few paragraphs, as in Dr Bruce's work, would have amply sufficed. The question as to the *readers* and the *aim* is of much higher importance. Mr Milligan, like Dr Bruce, argues in favour of an exclusively Jewish community. Probably they are right, but we think that the opposing arguments cannot be so easily swept aside as they are inclined to suppose. With due caution and reserve, Mr Milligan favours Rome as the destination, and we must say that the expression in οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας in the salutation (13²⁴) is almost unintelligible on any other hypothesis. In describing the *purpose* of the Epistle, he discovers the danger of the "Hebrews" to lie not so much in "a threatened apostasy to Judaism" as in an "imperfect apprehension of Christianity." That is certainly nearer the view which the Epistle gives us, although when we say "imperfect apprehension of Christianity," we ought not to think so much of its doctrinal significance as of its practical, spiritual power.

The second part examines the theology of the book under these four headings: the Covenant Idea and the Person of the Son; the Son as High Priest; the High Priestly Work of the Son; the New Covenant. Two concluding chapters deal with "the relation of the Epistle to other systems of thought" and its "present-day significance." One or two longer notes are inserted on points of special importance. Mr Milligan truly says that the mingling of the doctrinal and the practical in the Epistle "makes it difficult to formulate any detailed plan of its contents" (p. 60). This becomes all the more difficult when the various statements of theological significance have to be grouped together under definite headings. Hence, occasionally, there is some want of lucidity in marking the stages in the theological development of the Epistle.

The main theme is described as the New Covenant which in Christianity has been fulfilled. But, as the covenant-relation between God and man rests on priesthood the argument becomes largely a comparison between the old and the new priesthoods. There is a careful discussion of the position of Christ as Son in which, from this standpoint, the various aspects of His life in His pre-existent, incarnate, and exalted states are delineated

according to the teaching of the Epistle. A specially interesting paragraph in this discussion is that on the "true humanity" of Christ's inner life (p. 79). In the detached note on chap. 2⁹ Mr Milligan rightly insists that *βραχύ τι* must have the same meaning there as in 2⁷, and that in both places the idea of *time* is to be preferred. He rejects Dr Bruce's notion of "a glory in the humiliation" as "foreign to the main drift of the passage," which has in view dominion over all things as the result and reward of humiliation and death. Here again, in our belief, he is right, but when he interprets the last clause of the verse as implying that "only, when Himself glorified, was Christ in a position to apply to man, as man, the benefits of His death," may we not justly ask whether the readers would ever have reached this remote sense? As suggested in our preceding review, may not *ὅπως* like *ἵνα* (which in the later language gradually absorbed it) denote *purpose* as well as *purpose* and be an addition explanatory of *τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου*? In dealing with the conception of Christ's Priesthood, Mr Milligan, (as also Dr Bruce), considers that this was a new truth for the reader. Perhaps it was even a new truth for the Church. And yet we must beware of pushing this idea too far; for undoubtedly some part of the prominence which this doctrine receives in the Epistle is due to its suitability for the mood and circumstances of the readers. We cannot agree with the exegesis of 5⁷, where Mr Milligan translates "save Him out of (*ἐκ*) death" instead of the simple "from." He understands our Lord to pray that He might be "brought to the glory and honour which are His on the full accomplishment of that work of which His death formed a necessary part" (p. 108). Was not the prayer that the cup might *pass from* Him? It is hazardous to strain the meaning of prepositions in the N.T. It seems to me, further, that Mr Milligan commits himself to a precarious position in holding that Christ's Priesthood only began on His exaltation. In spite of the arguments to the contrary, the unbiased reader is compelled to believe that in the writer's view the sufferings and death of Christ belong to His Priesthood (see chap. 7²⁷ *et. al.*). The same thing may be said of the somewhat curious theory put forward on pp. 143-150 as to the nature and mode of the offering made by Christ. But the book, as a whole, is a valuable and instructive discussion of the theological contents of this great New Testament writing.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

Das persönliche Christenthum der paulinischen Gemeinden, nach seiner Entstehung untersucht.

Von Dr Johannes Müller. Erster Teil. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 306. Price, M.6.

"PERSONAL CHRISTIANITY" must be understood in the above title, in contrast with Historical and Institutional Christianity; the work is in fact an analysis of the religious experience of Christian believers in the Pauline Churches. Dr Müller laments that in the immense and laborious research devoted to the Christian origins, this central question has been ignored; criticism spends itself on the shell without getting at the kernel; it has laboured on the preconditions and environments of the grand problem, missing its essence [pp. 2 ff., 24]. Doctrine and usage were but the external product and framework, written records "the fossil literary imprint" of the life once warm and pulsing in Christian breasts [5]. We have been furnished with anatomies of the desiccated body of doctrinal and external Christianity; what we now require is the physiology and morphology of the living thing [6]. The Baurians, from their intellectual standpoint, have resolved Christianity into a new *Weltanschauung*; the Ritschlians, from their practical standpoint, into a *Lebensführung*; both schools proceed in doctrinaire fashion, and upon assumptions more or less foreign to the subject [16 ff.]. Systematic Theology relegates personal Christian experience to some sub-section or other under the topic of "the Church" or of "the kingdom of God," while Historical Theology recognises it incidentally under biographical headings and the like [8 f.]. Painful experience convinced the author of the inadequacy of current methods of study when he addressed himself first to the conversion of Jews, and found that his elaborate theological discipline had sent him out unprepared for his work. He was compelled to ask himself, for the first time, "what the apostles preached" in like circumstances? "What was, in its essence and moving power, the ferment which then everywhere brought about in men faith and conversion to God?" [39].

The ultimate spring of Christianity, in the consciousness of Jesus, is inscrutable, like Life itself in its beginning; but what He imparted to His disciples we can learn from them—especially from the Apostle Paul [24-27]. In the Epistles of well-established authenticity we have sufficient material for the inductive psychological inquiry that is proposed. These documents, while steeped in the writer's idiosyncrasy, assume a large and constant element of common experience; they are filled with the spiritual life of

the time, drawn fresh from the fountain-head [31.*ff.*]. The cognate experience of the present day supplies us with the organ for its interpretation, but must not be taken for its limiting measure [36.*f.*]. We must distinguish, as Weizsäcker, *e.g.*, has not sufficiently done, between Paul's missionary preaching and his pastoral instruction addressed to the converted, between the Gospel in its primary and secondary sense. With Paul, as with Jesus and Isaiah, the *εὐαγγέλιον* is properly the conveyance of a definite message of grace from God to men [53.*ff.*].—the "good news" of a signal Divine intervention, its *ἀπόστολος* (*κήρυξ*, *πρεσβυτής*) is one charged with the impartation of certain *acta* and *agenda*—saving deeds of God, past and future, on the strength of which He summons men to enter the kingdom of His Son. It proclaims no theory or doctrine, but divine persons, doings, events, to which its messengers are witnesses; it is the bare statement of concrete fact, to which, accordingly, dialectic art and philosophic explanation are wholly foreign [68.*f.*]. Paul resisted the demand of the Greeks for ideas; he dreaded any subjective admixture of human notions with the objective "truth," the Divine reality which had forced itself upon him and his fellows, the one message entrusted to all the apostles.

Of the contents of the Gospel, the first main item appears in Gal. i. 3.*ff.*, the announcement that "Christ has given Himself for our sins, to deliver us from an evil world"; the corresponding demand appears in 2 Cor. v. 20, "Be reconciled." 1 Thes. i. 8.*ff.* leads us a step further: "the true God" who "raised up His Son, Jesus" who will return as Lord and Judge, are the persons made known; "to serve" and "to wait" are the requirements they make [86-89]. As God was revealed [in contrast to idols], so sin, individual and collective, as alienation from Him; sin was denounced with such effect as to awaken the longing for grace [90.*f.*]. "Christ" was the focus and the sum of Paul's gospel—the expected Messiah, the universal Saviour, the Son of God, *ἐν πρώτοις* amongst the facts concerning Him are *His death and resurrection*—the twin pillars of salvation. *In nuce* the Gospel is "the word of the cross," its quintessence lying in the fact that this death was *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* [93.*ff.*]. The causal nexus between Christ's death and man's sin was affirmed, in the first instance, without theoretical elucidation; self-sacrifice was an idea not foreign to the Pagan mind. From the outset P. affirmed that both the death and resurrection came about "according to the Scriptures," referring not so much to single passages as to the drift of the Old Testament, the continuity of God's present with His past works of salvation. For the resurrection he appealed to the living witnesses [95.*ff.*]. Through the advanced doctrine of Romans we

can discern the elementary gospel lying behind it. This included, further, some simple account of the birth and history of Jesus—the crisis of human destiny, and of His celestial rule and intercession—the guarantee of present access to God [98 ff.]; for the Gospel proclaims Him as our Lord and Redeemer, titles in which this twofold series of facts is summed up. Thus the Good News opens out into the proclamation of “the kingdom of God,” present and future. The demands and promises of the Gospel stand all in the light of the *παρουσία* of the Lord Jesus and the coming *ὁργή* of God [102, 108 ff.]. The content of the Gospel is now clear: it proceeds from the living and true God, to men godless and ruined; He has sent His Son at time’s fulness as Son of David, who has died for men’s sins, and risen as many can testify; risen, He is exalted in boundless power, to be a gracious Lord to His own, extending His kingdom through the world, sending His messengers to demand submission; on repentance, reconciliation through His sacrifice is assured, with forgiveness, adoption, and the gift of the Holy Spirit on the Father’s part, initiating a new spiritual existence and securing deliverance from future wrath; soon Christ returns in judgment, and the day of grace closes [110]. All hangs closely together, and is grand, sober, urgent, practical, and luminous.

As to the *working* of the Gospel through its agents, the capital fact in Paul’s case is that he felt himself to be an instrument of the exalted Christ [121]. The apostle was a burning focus in which the Divine events he spoke of concentrated themselves, to stream forth into the world. P. renounced deliberately at Corinth the arts of eloquence and learned demonstration; he was defective in the charms of popular speech. His success he traces entirely to “the Spirit” attending his proclamation [128]. Everything was wanting, or was of set purpose laid aside, which should distract from or participate with the sheer “power of God” operative in His message [139]. The apostle gave a straightforward account of the facts, not a lecture upon them, convinced that in what he reported God witnessed for Himself to men [141 ff.]; his method was concrete, visual, descriptive, not abstract and conceptual. The personality of the preacher played its part in conversion not by intellectual force so much as by contagious conviction [144 ff.], and through the joyous confidence and high courage generated by his realisation of the source and purport of his commission [146 ff.]. In its effects, the Gospel proved everywhere a *divisive* power, driving men to the opposite poles of salvation or perdition [150 ff.]. The saved are God’s *κλητοί* and *ἐκλεκτοί*; for all that, the separation is due to contrasted dispositions in the hearers. The causes of unbelief P. observes are those stated by Jesus, who, however, analysed them more deeply,—viz., insincerity and satisfaction with

self and the world [155-160]. Previous morality or immorality does not determine the case; the Gospel appeals to a faculty underlying the moral, to the spirit of man in its fundamental movement. Previous knowledge of Scripture is favourable to conversion, not indispensable [160 f.]. The key to the whole problem, on the human and psychological side, is *faith*—a term sadly blunted by theological use. Faith was not the result of argument or reasoned apprehension; it was the flashing on the mind of an immediate certainty [165], an overpowering impression of the actuality of the Good News heard from the apostle; hence it filled its subjects with rapture, transporting them into a new and glorious world of being [166 f.]. It was at the same time an act of self-preservation, "salvation" being at stake, the setting of oneself on a true foundation of life; but this was done in passion and enthusiasm, not cool reflexion [169 f.]. Faith has two sides—the conviction of the reality of the things declared, and the surrender of oneself to their demands. It was a personal apprehension of God and Christ, laid hold of in Christ's death and resurrection and the connected train of facts [171 f.]. The human life of Jesus P. used as an example for conduct, not a saving ground of faith. The passionate certainty of faith is accounted for by the astounding impression received from the resurrection of Jesus. Out of faith-certainty grew *salvation-certainty* [174]; the latter increasingly filled consciousness, and constituted the connotation of a developed "faith." Faith began with credence in the witness of the apostles; their character, therefore, was a vital precondition [175]. The promises they held out of forgiveness, etc., supplied an experiment for the believing hearer, the success of which verified the whole Gospel to him [176]. "Obedience" to God in Christ gave to faith its sober, testing issue; "confession of the Lord Jesus" and "calling upon His name" were its formal public expression [177 f.].

The Gospel spread through *the activity* therein of *the living God* whom it proclaimed; "the Spirit" is, with P., no theoretical quantity deduced from his preconceptions, but a real cause demonstrated by its unique effects [183]. The facts demanded the Factor. The apostle and the fruits of his ministry are unaccountable otherwise. His realistic presentment of Jesus Christ and his stern condemnations of sin were calculated to rouse the emotions and the conscience; but this falls far short of the work of conversion. The resurrection of Jesus and the promise of His advent supplied the strongest holdfast and stimulus to faith when once created, but they could not call it into being [189 f.]. Conviction is created by reasoned proof from admitted premises, or by immediate presentation of the object; the former method was here impossible and unattempted. Faith was psychologically unattainable without a

direct personal action of God upon the heart [193]. All the phenomena of the case point to this contact having occurred. If there was no veritable operation of God in the matter, but only the *idea* of it, then we must look to the antecedents of the hearers for the real cause of their Christian experience. Historical research here confronts us directly with the Supernatural [200]. The problem resembles that of the origin of Organic Life; only that in this inquiry we have contemporary evidence, and are brought to the edge of the mystery. Here, moreover, we can enter, as we cannot in the examination of Miracles, into the train of cause and effect and posit definitely the insufficiency of the Natural. To unfold the development of Christian "Views" and "Institutions" is to move only on the surface of things: what has to be accounted for is the creation of Christian men. Holsten's historico-psychological theory does not explain the actual apostle Paul, but substitutes for him a kind of nineteenth century Gnostic [204].

Baptism and the bestowment of the Spirit signalled the *beginning of the new life*, the former constituting its occasion, the latter its inner cause [209]. Only by inference can we distinguish pre-baptismal from post-baptismal experience. Faith was the actual *birth*, not the pre-condition of the regenerate life: it brought about a new creation, a revaluing of all interests, a subordination of all goods to the sovereign good in Christ [212]; positively, it produced an energetic devotion to God's will and kingdom, the fulfilment of which henceforth dominated all aims. The future world submerged the present [219]. The believer's union with Christ formed the organic basis of the whole transformation. Christ replaced the old self, His Church the old world-society [222]. The new activities of life were at each point set to work by the new actualities brought near in the Gospel; the sense of the living God of itself destroyed idolatry, and fellowship with Christ was no doctrinal inference but a primary experience [228]. Gradually the movements of the new life became matter of distinct apperception, then of comprehension and intelligent expression; the transformation effected in the world of being passed into the world of thought [230]. Baptism was the step which indicated the reflective and deliberate realisation of faith [232]. Here began a toilsome and contested progress, the working out of the implanted salvation [234. ff.]. This process was subject to ordinary psychological and social laws, varying in its course in different individuals and communities. The apostle's personal influence played a commanding part in this development [239. ff.]. Baptism was an institution which P. took over, with a recognised objective meaning [244. ff.]: on the recipient's side, it marked his publicly decisive rupture with sin and confession of Christ; it was the

realisation by God of His possession in the man, and by the man of his salvation through Christ; it established an abiding bond between the baptised man and the exalted Christ on the one side, and the new humanity, the Church, upon the other. It was in all respects the fundamental life-decision [250], objectifying faith, precipitating feeling and intention into self-determining act [254]. From this time, if he knows and means what has been done, the man is no longer a sinner, though sin may be in him—a paradox psychologically true [259]. The Christian has been “washed,” and therewith “sanctified” (1 Cor. vi. 11)—separated visibly from sinners, and brought under the ownership and rule of God; therewith also “justified”—viewed and treated by God as righteous [266]. The gift of the Holy Spirit, accompanying baptism, was no mere objectification of the believer’s new feelings and impulses. The miraculous charisms, frequently manifested on this occasion, require, it is acknowledged, a force above the subject’s personality to explain them; his new character equally demands this cause. The distinction between the ordinary [moral] and extraordinary [miraculous] powers of the Spirit, attempted in modern analysis, is foreign to the New Testament and unscientific [273]. Both were the fruit of an indwelling and impelling *δύναμις*, disparate from all power of “this world.” God Himself at this moment stepped into the man [275], filling up with His Spirit the inward void, the sense of which in hearers of the Gospel had led them to seek its blessings. Mere faith does not account for the phenomena referred to “the Spirit”: faith is purely receptive; it is not the good possessed, but the act of apprehension [279]. The Divine powers operating on the man had now, as he realised, established a centre within him, around which and out of which the new personality began to crystallise [281]—the personality of a conscious Son of God. The Spirit is distinct from this consciousness, being its seal and guarantee. The ecstasies were extraordinary eruptions, and the charisms special faculties of a life in the Spirit common to all the children of God [284].

The relation to Christ inaugurated by Baptism was that of “communion”—a word susceptible of different meanings [288]. *βάπτισμα εἰς Χριστόν* is “baptism with reference to Christ”; the baptized is appropriated by Him, while he, participating in His salvation, confesses Jesus as Lord and becomes His personal servant. This is no mere private, but, so to speak, a *political* association (Phil. iii. 20); one enters into communion with Christ in the organised life of His Church; the *κοινωνία* of 1 Cor. i. 9 is “fellowship in Christ” with others [292]. Even in Rom. vi. 2 ff., there is no thought of “mystic” fellowship; “to be baptized into His death” and resurrection means entering through baptism into

the saving purpose and benefit of these events, and experiencing in consequence a regeneration as signal as the transition that took place in Him; the *συν-* implies correspondence, not identification [294]. The Christian at Baptism has "put on Christ," so that he is from this time "in Christ"—an expression that fills the epistles; his existence becomes practically included in that of Christ, who is its hidden basis and background. This being "in Christ" is identical with being "in the Spirit": Christ is the sunlight, the Spirit is the atmosphere of the new life [298]. To sum up, the baptized Christian belongs to Christ, shares by rehearsal His death and life, and dwells in His heavenly kingdom. In other words, the servant waits on his Master, shares His fortunes, and lives upon His wealth. Nothing is presumed as to *personal intimacy*; *ἐκδημοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου* supposes the lack of this (2 Cor. v. 6). Through Baptism incorporation into the Church was effected. This means more than entering a religious community; it is realising a union of souls, deeper than all external relations in proportion to the depth and magnitude of the Christian's new possessions and hopes [300]. The Church consists of those "called by God to fellowship in His Son"; here is the ground of its being. Every movement of the inner life had its Church side and reacted on the community; the Church-consciousness reached an ecstatic height; one spirit breathed, one pulse beat in the brotherhood [303]. "The Spirit" was the heavenly life-element which filled and subsisted in all the members of the Church, making this the sphere of His activity; simultaneously, as parts of one being, the Christian man and the Christian Church were born and grew in the Spirit. What Baptism brought about was never effected mechanically, in the way of *opus operatum*, but under the spiritual preconditions and accompaniments proper to it as a Christian rite [306].

The exposition of Baptism completes the *erster Teil*, covering 306 closely printed and closely written pages. A *zweiter Teil* of the *persönliche Christenthum* may be expected, of equal magnitude and weight. When that is before us, we may be able to judge of the scope and outcome of Dr Müller's work, and estimate it to better advantage. We have given a careful and extended analysis of this first published part, judging it to be a production that deserves such pains and that will speak for itself. It recalls evangelical theology to its first principles and its native ground in the heartfelt experience of salvation through Christ and the new life in the Spirit. But it does this after a scientific and judicial method. The author writes like a man imbued with biological and psychological conceptions, accustomed to observe and interpret the processes of life. The phenomena of the apostolic age have for him the fascination of grand human facts, to be weighed and defined

in their full concrete reality ; he is justly impatient of the cloud of speculative theories that have obscured them for the modern mind. He substitutes a positive and inductive analysis for the *à priori* philosophico-literary analysis which has prevailed in the theological schools of his country ; and his cast of thought is well calculated to appeal to the practical English student. The style is far from easy ; the book is amongst the toughest one has read for a long time. But it is solid, methodical, and workmanlike, and touched with a high religious sense of the greatness of the subject. This volume affords another welcome proof that modern science, with its trained habits of observation and its reverence for facts of every order, is compelled, as it works itself beyond the material into the spiritual ranges of life, to deliver with increasing emphasis its witness to the reality and power of the historical Christian faith.

The following misprints have struck the eye : *formende* (p. 5, l. 11) apparently for *formale* ; the omission of a *colon* at the end of l. 23, p. 65 ; *umittelbar*, p. 176, l. 3, and *perönlichen*, p. 177, l. 17 ; a *u* reversed on p. 192, l. 9 from bottom ; a superfluous *n* at the end of l. 15, p. 262 ; *r* wanting in *Begeistete*, p. 273, l. 2.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

Die Grundlagen der Christologie Schleiermacher's.

Von Lic. Hermann Bleek. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 233.

THE author tells us (p. 98, n. 3) that he is the grandson of Friederich Bleek, the well-known professor at Bonn (one presumes), whose translated Commentaries on Hebrews and on the Apocalypse are held in such high regard for piety and scholarship, and whose O.T. Introduction, also translated—not from any of the editions retouched by Wellhausen—has given so many English readers their first knowledge of the “mighty maze, though not without a plan,” of modern criticism. Pfarrer Hermann Bleek appears to be himself a follower of Ritschl. His very careful monograph deals with Schleiermacher's successive works, and even with their successive editions, and enters into controversy on details with the most authoritative exponents of Schleiermacher. The author further claims that he has been the first to discuss the growth of Schleiermacher's *Christological* views with the emphasis due to Christology as the central Christian doctrine. The first chapter is devoted to the influences which told upon Schleiermacher's youth ; the second depicts his period of rationalism, during which Christ is regarded simply as teacher or example ; the third deals with his aesthetic or

intellectualist period—the period marked especially by the *Reden*; also by the *Monologues*. The fourth chapter tells of Schleiermacher's approach to a more positive acceptance of Christ and Christianity—chiefly in the *Weihnachtsfeier*; a piece of dialogue whose importance Mr Bleek thinks has been underestimated. The essay does not include the *Glaubenslehre*.

From the Moravians Schleiermacher is held to have imbibed a practical Christianity or personal faith in Jesus—tinged with some of Zinzendorf's subjectivity—which never deserted him. Kant instilled into him his theory of knowledge; he became a subjective idealist; but this seems to have influenced only the technicalities of his theological thought, while the deeper moral suggestions of Kant did not find him particularly receptive. His leading characteristics inclined him to pantheism, and made it hard for him to recognise in terms of thought the supremacy of Jesus Christ. In the *Reden*—which we must not regard as essentially exoteric—he was aestheticist, romanticist, Spinozist. Christ was hailed as one of the heroes of faith—an august figure, to be treated not with rationalistic coldness but with enthusiastic respect; an august figure, but not the one Mediator; not the Lord. The essence of Christianity, according to the *Reden*, is its emphasis upon “the idea of that mediation which everything finite needs.” This, according to Mr Bleek, is to reintroduce natural religion which Schleiermacher had professed to banish as an abstraction. And the mediation spoken of is plainly understood in a pantheistic sense. The *Monologues*, though dealing with Ethics and Psychology, are adroitly worked into the scheme of the essay. They depict Schleiermacher's ideal man—but Jesus Christ is to him the “ideal Man”; whom he therefore idealises, on his own lines, to the neglect or even defiance of history. Even in the *Christmas Dialogue*—or later editions of the *Reden*—in spite of more definite approximations to the Christian position Schleiermacher is seen still quite resolutely distinguishing the ideal from the historical Christ, and attaching importance to the former, not the latter. It follows that in the *Glaubenslehre* itself Schleiermacher was pledged to a doketic conception of Christ.

The explanation of Schleiermacher's position is found partly in his personality. No one was ever more true, first and last, to his own idiosyncrasy. It made him a mystical pantheist; this did not forbid him to be a Christian, yet hindered him from being an evangelical Protestant Christian in the fullest sense. But the author blames in part Schleiermacher's philosophical opinions for his theological defects. While he was right in trying (already in the *Reden*) to separate religion and philosophy, he had not, we are given to understand, a sufficiently clear philosophy of religion to carry out

his own programme. (This sounds like a self-contradiction. Perhaps it is really not so. Anyway, the expression fairly embodies the thesis of the essay and the difficulties of the Ritschl school.) Accordingly Schleiermacher's Christology included effort after effort, protest after protest, in the direction of a fuller faith in Christ; but he could not extricate it theologically.

What follows is largely read between the lines. Ritschlism is believed to have extricated Christology by two doctrines. First, it has asserted the limitation of human knowledge. If that is accepted, Idealism must not lay down the law in religion—must not impose a pantheistic creed by trying to “think together” nature and history, the world of causes and the world of ends, values, ideals. Secondly, in the vacant space now cleared, a fuller philosophical doctrine of *personality* is developed.

All who believe in positive Christianity must praise the effort of the Ritschl school, though many will doubt whether such a philosophy can bear the weight of “full” Christian faith in a Divine Saviour. Those who believe in Idealism might explain Schleiermacher's failure by causes unconnected with his positive philosophy, *e.g.* by his reliance on *feeling*. They might vindicate his love of Plato, if not of Spinoza. Even in a monograph the subjectivity or the creed of the writer has a great deal to do with shaping his verdict.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

Die persönliche Heilserfahrung des Christen, und ihre Bedeutung für den Glauben, nach dem Zeugnisse der Apostel.

Von. Ph. Bachmann, Gymnasial Professor in Nürnberg. Leipzig: Deichert's Nachfolger (Georg Böhme); London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 246. Price, M.3.60.

HERR BACHMANN has no patience with “subjective ‘thoughts of faith’ or ‘value judgments’”—“in the bad sense of the term,” as he adds (p. 182). He is an orthodox evangelical Christian of the Lutheran order, with views on Baptism and the Lord's Supper which belong to German rather than to British evangelicalism, and with a strong conviction that the apostles never mean to teach unconditional election.—Everyone now appeals to experience. But what is Christian experience? Let us go for an answer to the sources—to the apostolic Scriptures, with the teaching of Christ working through them. Accordingly the author examines in succession James, Peter (i. and ii.), the Pauline epistles, Hebrews, and (1st) John. All report, though in varying forms, that our experience is an experience

of spiritual and eternal realities which never become wholly matter of experience. Much of our faith deals with what is "trans-subjective." Its objects are "historical and superhistorical." We touch the near end of connecting threads which pass into eternity and link us with the throne of God and with the risen Saviour. The obedience of faith with which we begin "includes a persuasion of the historical reality of the facts" of the Gospel, "and the recognition of their saving efficacy" (p. 42). Revelation "does not merely fill human hearts with new consciousnesses of faith and of salvation; it existed before these consciousnesses and apart from them, in historical facts, which realised an eternal purpose" (pp. 195, 6). Was revelation given, then, before there was any soul to whom it was given? What purpose was then "realised"?

The work is carefully done, with full knowledge of recent literature. The detailed exegesis is rather heavy; but the constructive section dealing with Paulinism is of some interest. Older views are vigorously maintained against Karl's assertions of perfectionism and justification by renewal as the essence of the Pauline gospel. The author finds support for his own central positions in Rom. vi. 11; it is a telling quotation.

Dogmatically, the main result is evangelical *Gemeingut*. It lies midway between Dr Dale's view that experience of the "living Christ" is enough to make us independent of ascertained knowledge in regard to historical revelation—and the position of those who would confine the revealing activity of God entirely to the earthly life of Christ.

But opinion will differ very much as to the legitimacy of the philosophical basis of the book, and its apologetic adequacy. First, the lesson is as old as the Scotch philosophy that, if knowledge is constituted by subjective states, you can never pass beyond the subject. You are in the prison of subjective idealism, and under the doom of scepticism. Again, is it reasonable to speak of the Christians at Corinth who profaned the Lord's Supper and died thereafter as suffering the "physiological" consequence of their sin? (p. 180). Finally, is the doctrine of faith sound? Is belief in the "superhistorical" and "transcendent" Satan (pp. 176, 182) really analogous to religious faith in God and in Christ? And are faith and experience alternatives—the more faith, the less religious experience; the more experience, the less room for faith? And do we experience part of revelation and part only? Is not the whole organically connected, and is not the whole therefore matter of experience so far as it can or need be? We wish the author had told us what he thinks is our warrant for the initial act of faith, and how (if at all) faith then differs from the Romanist's submission to authority.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

A Theory of Reality.

An Essay in Metaphysical System upon the Basis of Human Cognitive Experience. By George Trumbull Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. 8vo, pp. xv. 556. Price, \$4.

OF no one thing does the thought of our time stand more in need than of a revived interest in metaphysics. A scared Ritschlianism has fled before metaphysics: the almost universal attitude of the scientist towards metaphysics is that of the scorner: much even of the ethical philosophy of the time is weakly given over to squeamishness before metaphysic. But signs of quickened interest in metaphysics have not been wanting even in the past two or three years. There has not been lacking metaphysical boldness in the recent speculation of Germany. In England, we have had the great metaphysical work of Dr Shadworth Hodgson. In America, the recent book on metaphysics by Professor Bowne has now been followed by this important "Essay in Metaphysical System" on the part of Professor Ladd.

This *Theory of Reality* Professor Ladd explains in the Preface, is designed as a companion volume to his work on *Philosophy of Knowledge*, noticed in the *Critical Review* of Jan. 1898. It speaks highly for Professor Ladd's powers as a thinker and intellectual worker that two such volumes should have come so closely together from his pen. Professor Ladd is never the dry-as-dust philosopher, having his being only among bloodless abstractions: a vital interest pervades all his work: in this *Theory of Reality* he has been mainly concerned to fulfil the "conditions which belong to the establishment of a valid speculative result upon a basis of fact and science." The twenty chapters which compose the work are filled with substantial and suggestive thinking, and bear such marks of originality as may be now possible to the skilled metaphysician. No one, with the least aptitude for philosophical study, will have any difficulty with Professor Ladd's style, which is generally clear and incisive.

We should have preferred, however, in a work professedly "systematic," some sort of divisional arrangement, which Professor Ladd was so well able to suggest. Since he has not seen fit to do so, we must just call attention to those points in his treatment that seem to us most important or striking. The opening chapter is devoted to a most interesting and forceful Exposition of the nature and method of Metaphysics. Professor Ladd here rightly notes the special attention deserved of any Theory of Reality by the conception of Evolution as principle of becoming, and the conception of Self-hood as it reaches out into social connections.

In this evolutionary recognition he is in advance of some recent metaphysical writers. The facts of evolution for him cannot be known at all, "otherwise than in their relation to some teleological conception" (p. 379). "No such conception as a 'mechanism of Nature,' or a 'structure of the world,' is tenable without the implicate of purposiveness" (p. 388). We think, however, more might with advantage have been done—since it can be done—in the way of showing the end which evolution subserves, in a philosophical interpretation of reality, in compelling thought to recognise the necessity of teleology or the fact of purpose in nature. That is to say, he might have shown more clearly to his readers how a teleology must exist or be inferred from the bare fact of evolution itself, a thing well worth doing in the state of thought at present. "The characteristics of Self-hood" Professor Ladd carries over to Nature (p. 468), so that he holds by "not nature *and* Spirit, but *Spirit as the true and essential Being of so-called Nature*" (p. 472), as the conclusion to which both science and philosophy lead.

Professor Ladd sets out from the discussion, in the second chapter, of "phenomenon and actuality," by which he is led up to the "conception of Reality," so important for metaphysics as the philosophy of the real. He has, in passing, some just criticism of Lotze's conception of the real, but when he presses on to his own conclusions, which are, that Reality is always, first of all, a fact, is always an actor or agent, and is always connection according to some law, it becomes evident how largely he is in accord with Lotze. He then passes to consider Reality as an actual harmony of the categories, seeking to vindicate for the categories the position of "a beautiful and wondrous system" (p. 105), which it is the very task of metaphysics synthetically to reconstruct in theoretic form from the harmony actually existent. This is succeeded (chap. v.) by an interesting discussion of the old and troublous category of substance, in which our author leads up to the "confident recognition of something in experience, and something in reality," answering to "such abstractions as Substance, Being, or *Ding-an-sich*." He holds it to be in the "fundamental fact of an activity, which is both self-felt and also known to be inhibited, that we discover the root, in experience, from which the conception of substance springs forth." The x which has been long pursued he finds, to be *self-activity*. "To be a real Being, with actual qualities, is to be what I know myself to be—namely, capable of initiating and of experiencing changes that are attributable to some subject or 'central point of attachment,' conceived of after the analogy of a conscious Will."

The chapters that come next contain fresh discussions on "Change and Becoming," "Relation," "Time," "Space and

Motion," that on "Time" being clear and robust, and the one on "Space" discriminating and careful. Having dealt with Lotze's vacillations as to Time, and the inanities of the merely subjective view of time, Ladd goes on to show the need for the "trans-subjective" reference of the time concept if Evolution is to be a significant conception. He seems to feel the difficulty of dealing with the category of Space, and what he has to say of it is of more tentative and partial character. Professor Ladd comes at length, no doubt, to a World-Force to which, as its trans-subjective ground, the space category must be referred; but if he meant thereby to lead up to the Divine Causality in its sway (as conditioned by Will) over the extended, it seems to us this might have been done in such a way as to lead up to a somewhat clearer and stronger issue. We cannot but think it would have been well to attempt some more explicit setting forth of the relation of the Absolute Being to space, for the subject is one of intense metaphysical interest. The senses in which the Absolute is raised above extension and is independent of space, and in which He is related to space, since space—like the world itself—rests on an intelligible basis in Him, cannot be too clearly set forth in the metaphysical discussions of the day. For, after all, it seems to us far less likely that a satisfying speculative result will be reached through the metaphysical tendency to expect space and time to explain themselves, than by viewing them as they appear related to the Absolute.

There is not much that calls for special remark in the chapters devoted to "Force and Causation," "Measure and Quantity," "Number and Unity," "Forms and Laws." The chapter on "Spheres of Reality" (xv.) we find rather disappointing; in parts it is too elementary, and it wholly leaves aside some of the questions touching an Absolute Self and its relation to the world of selves which are most present to the philosophical mind of to-day. There are closing chapters on "Matter," "Nature and Spirit," "The Actuality of the Ideal," and "The World and the Absolute." The Theory of Reality with which Professor Ladd concludes really is that "all things and all selves are virtually understood by the Knower, man, to belong to, to be manifestations of, dependencies upon, this Absolute Self." Further, the mind of man is led to recognise that "the ultimate Being of the World is its own indwelling and absolute Spiritual Life—the Life of a self-conscious Will and Mind which stands related to that complex of objects which are made known in all human experience as their One and Ultimate Ground" (p. 550). Yale may be congratulated on the mental activity of the distinguished head of its Philosophical Faculty.

JAMES LINDSAY.

The Gospel of the Atonement.

Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1898-99, by the Ven. James M. Wilson, M.A. London: Macmillan, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 165. Price, 3s. 6d.

It was the gift of the prophets of old to see the needs of their own days as few beside could see them, and to bring the unchanging truth of God to bear upon them with all their might. Among thoughtful readers there must be very many who lay down these Hulsean Lectures with the sense impressed upon them that the Archdeacon of Manchester ranks with the "goodly fellowship"; for he has read the heart of to-day. The pathos of those many souls who in a deep and real sense are religious, nay Christian, but who find it supremely difficult to think the thoughts which make up much of traditional and popular Christian belief, and cannot always freely enter into Christian fellowship with the recognised bodies of Christ's followers, has moved him greatly. They are like sheep scattered upon the hills, and not having a shepherd; can nothing be done to so fetch them home that they may be made one flock under one Shepherd? This is the audience that Archdeacon Wilson has in view; and because he holds that the doctrine of the Atonement commonly forms their greatest difficulty, whereas it ought to be the centre of their hope and joy, he makes this the subject of his lectures. "I feel," he writes, "that someone who believes whole-heartedly that Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever, and feels and knows the Atonement to be a fact for to-day, recognised as a truth by our listening hearts, and who yet is conscious that its ordinary presentation fails to touch, nay perhaps alienates, a prevailing, even predominant, type of mind, ought to try to think out and express, so far as he can, his feelings and beliefs, imperfect as they are, in the hope that if he is in thorough sympathy with the aims and efforts of the past, and yet can be utterly true to what seems to be God's revelation in the present, his truthfulness will awake some response in other hearts."

Pointing out how the strong movement towards relying upon inductive methods of thought is affecting Christian minds, and how it is becoming increasingly impossible for any save an exceptional few to believe in, or even to regard, religion apart from the great body of their general experience, Archdeacon Wilson welcomes induction and the appeal to experience as giving the soundest and broadest basis on which the reality of the Christian revelation rests. And he seeks to set the Atonement on this firm

foundation for all who want it as a stay in life, and not as a labelled specimen in an ecclesiastical or theological museum. "This is my aim: to bring the great doctrine of the Atonement into the light of common day, into the atmosphere of the thoughts which are in all our minds; to bring it into the region of all that God has taught us, and is teaching us from all sources; to tell you truly what it is to me; to see if it has not all the evidence one can expect; and to see whether it may not be as real, inspiring, soul-saving, joyful, to the world of to-day, to the everyday Englishman and Englishwoman, as it was when the early Church holding this faith sprang up in a world that knew it not. I believe it to be true for everyone, not only for a few." And that this aim is one capable of attainment the preacher urges by showing how the thing has been done in the case of some other doctrines, such as the creation of the earth, the antiquity of man, the state after death, the inspiration of the Bible, all which were doctrines that had never received any authoritative definition, and which a generation or two ago afforded the most frequent occasion for the doubts and infidelity of the day, but which are now seen under a new aspect, and are felt to be as true as ever, but larger than men once supposed. This result, he believes, may be attained in the case of the Atonement, which also is a doctrine hitherto never defined by authority, and a cause of difficulty and unbelief to many minds to-day, while "our preachers allude to it in symbol or word as if everyone understood their allusion, but they occupy themselves with other aspects of revelation or life. This is a terrible loss. The field of Christian teaching is wide, but nevertheless here is the centre of it. . . . No Church will regenerate the world which does not squarely face the doctrine of the Atonement, and say what its message is, in language that speaks to the heart from the experience of the heart. It must tell us how Christ saves us, redeems us, gives us His life."

In drawing out his theme Archdeacon Wilson feels the need of sketching the course which Christian thought has followed, both for the purpose of showing that popular views of the Atonement have no ancient sanction to rest upon, and in order to show how the account of it which he would give has always been present though overlaid by the disproportionate emphasis laid now on one metaphor, now on another, employed for expressing the spiritual reality. But he guards himself by a striking remark: "It is my conviction that Christianity in its permanent relation to men has far more to associate it ultimately with science, and in particular with progressive and inductive science, than with history. . . . The final question is not what was, but what is; not what men have thought, but what is true." To every Jew religion was bound

up with sacrifices, to an extent which we find it hard to realise. And religious language implied in almost every term ideas or at least associations, of God's transcendence, of sacrificial and legal ordinances. St Paul could not do other than use such language, especially as he needed to show the continuity of the old and new. The language of metaphor alone was open to him. And "the inevitable consequence is that St Paul is sometimes apparently mystical, and then the tendency has been to explain him away; sometimes obviously Judaic, and men have misunderstood him still more by their interpreting him literally." Yet his writings teem with the doctrine of God's Life shared by us men through and in and with Christ Jesus, and this is in fact his central teaching. But in after times the figures and illustrations which St Paul drew from Jewish use, men came to treat as if they were scientific statements, and from them theories of the Atonement were developed. "This was the beginning of what should frankly be called by its true name, Christian mythology, which has since taken many forms. The definiteness, the pictorial clearness, the apparent intelligibility of mythology which personifies ideas, give it an immense attractiveness to the masses, who do not first stop to enquire into its truth, or even expect any verification. The same quality makes it the most dangerous snare to the preacher." So through the Fathers, by way of Anselm, Abelard, and others, the lecturer traces the varying thought of Christendom concerning the Atonement, ever showing how the kernel of every theory is really the unity of Life in God and man, which Jesus Christ made plain. "The great weakness of our Church is the poverty of its popular theology. The greatest need of the Church is a wise and understanding clergy to interpret into 'the vernacular' the strong and masculine faith that is now possible. . . . My conviction, based on a fairly wide and very varied experience, is that reiterated, explicit, clear statements of the true doctrine of our redemption, clearing it from all ditheism and from all that I have ventured to call forensic, transactional, and even mythological, are longed for by the best instincts of the people within and without our churches. . . . Let us say boldly that the Incarnation, *i.e.* the life and death of the Christ, is the identification of the human and the divine Life. This identification is the Atonement. There is no other."

But Archdeacon Wilson feels that this answer, if it is to satisfy, must include the answer to a further question, why the atoning work of Christ has ever been and will be ever, felt to centre in His death. This part of his subject he handles with impressive reverence, and as one reads one feels that one is following him with bared head into the Holiest of Holies where indeed God's Presence

is, although unseen of mortal eyes. And reverence requires that his words here shall not be altered or condensed in a review. They are honest, earnest, prophetic sentences, which wake at once shame and thankfulness as they are read. One quotation shall suffice to indicate how the enquiry is answered. "The law that suffering is divine, the *δεῖ παθεῖν*, is verified in the experience of the soul. Now Christ's death is the supreme instance of that law. The power of Gethsemane and Calvary in the light of such a law needs no explanation. They open the heart as nothing else ever did. We know that whatever reservations we make for ourselves, whatever our own shrinking from utter self-sacrifice, Christ living in perfect accordance with the laws of spiritual health and perfection, could not do other than die."

The faith which is stated in these pages of his book, the preacher urges, is simple, is for all. "Its truth rests upon universal experience; and it is experience alone which gets such a grip on a man that he can never shake it off. And," he continues, "what do I mean by experience?" The answer given must not be given here, but it lies in a few pages which are among the noblest in the book, and which throb with an *ἐνέργεια* of their own.

The last lecture dwells on the relation of the foregoing view of the Atonement to other contemporary movements of thought, and in it there is much that is interesting and important. The prevailing habits of inductive reasoning as profoundly affecting religious thought are shown to fall in at once with, and even to necessitate such a view of the Atonement as the indwelling of a Divine Life in man, proved by Christ's life and death, and appealing to experience. But the most suggestive part of this lecture lies in the contrast drawn between two types of theology which may generally and for convenience be described as those of the Greek and Latin Fathers. "The fundamental and dominant thought of the one is the Divine Indwelling: the fundamental and dominant thought of the other is the Divine Transcendence. 'God is Spirit' is the note of one; 'God is King' is the note of the other. . . . The types overlap, and are to some extent blended everywhere; nevertheless the contrast is intensely real and significant everywhere. The most important division of theologians to-day is not into Catholic and Protestant, not into High Church and Evangelical, not into critical and uncritical, but into Greek and Latin,—a division which cuts across all others." It is well shewn how far-reaching is this difference, and how not a few of the practical ills from which we suffer are traceable to the influences of the "Latin" theology, while a restoration of the "Greek" point of view, which is moreover far more in accord with the scientific temper, might result in a large increase of hope and peace.

There are other lines of thought opened out by the account of the Atonement which has been unfolded, and all of them are of high interest and importance. But a review which can but give a bare outline of the main theme cannot expect to trace all its several consequences. Enough if it witnesses to an able, earnest, and courageous utterance of a living voice.

E. P. BOYS-SMITH.

Communication from Professor L. H. Mills on the Uncertainties of the Avesta and their Solution.

IN an article which reviews certain publications upon Zend philology, a respected writer in the *Critical Review* of January 1896 made the following statement :—"The Gâthas or hymns of Zoroaster are by far the most precious relic we possess of Oriental Religion, the only sacred literature which in dignity, in profoundness, in purity of thought and absolute freedom from unworthy conceptions of the divine could ever for a moment be compared with the Hebrew Scriptures."

Such a remark, coming from such a source, lays upon me, as one of the very few theologians who have ever given close attention to the subject, the duty of contributing what it may be possible for me to offer toward such explanations of the Avesta as may appeal to the more critical of the clergy, while I avoid such technicalities as might repel them, or baffle their inquiries at the outset. As to which particular subject among the many which present themselves in the Avesta should be made the subject of a first investigation no one, I think, would be likely to hesitate ; the Gâthas as a whole are, of course, the tree's trunk of this literature rather than its main branch, or, to change the image, they are its foundation. And in the Gâthas the doctrine as to the six Ameshaspendis, making, with Ahura, the memorable "seven," is the consideration which calls for our closest examination at the very threshold of our labours. So essential are these important concepts to the entire structure of the Gâthas that my greatly distinguished colleague, the late Professor James Darmesteter, once said the object, or, indeed, the substance of, the Gâthas was the "glorification of the Ameshaspendis." Whether or not that may be somewhat of an exaggeration, it is quite certain that these personified ideas seem to have been accepted principles of thought, conduct, and hope both with the composer of the pieces and with his hearers ; in fact, they constitute the very framework of their religion, national and personal, and only ceased to retain their profound interior force in a later age, when their significance had lost its edge, and they had degenerated for the most part into

the names of certain familiar physical elements or of the angels who "watched" over them.

I have been especially called upon for a renewed examination of this subject by a request from the trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation-fund in Bombay, who have asked me to treat the matter in connection with certain opinions which had, I fear, been too hastily advanced as to the date of the Gâthas, and with these, similar opinions as to the corresponding date of the other portions of our still surviving Avesta; and it has fallen to my lot otherwise to study them very closely as regards their relation or non-relation to the *daimones* and *dynameis* of the Greek and Philonian philosophies as well as to the aeons of the Gnostics; and in fact, as I may be allowed to remark, my well-meant labours as an orientalist began (I fear to say how many years ago) precisely upon this point. Darmesteter even did me the honour, with that inimitable grace which he alone could so easily command, to say that my allusion to what analogies exist between the Gnosis and the Avesta first drew his own attention that way.¹

And these concepts of the Greek and Alexandrian philosophies do in fact present a certain strong analogy with the Amesha Spenta. But a discussion, whether as preliminary to that of these analogies or not, would be called for under any circumstances; for no serious explanation of these important concepts of a searching kind and of an interior scope, has ever been attempted, so far as I am aware, in any of the works which are current upon the Avesta; and such contradictions and diversities of opinion as appear in various translations are justly regarded as a serious hindrance to any attempt to grapple with the subject outside of a very small group indeed of so-called experts. I will therefore endeavour to make my own illustrations of these difficulties as full as may be possible, while I refer such of my readers as may desire to become original investigators, to the large mass of close technical detail which I have endeavoured to present elsewhere in publications which are, as I suppose, sufficiently well known to the professional public.

In dealing with the Amesha Spenta, it is naturally enough our first duty to enquire seriously and closely as to what they were.

The name (Amesha Spenta) as I need hardly say, is not Gâthic, and the appearance of it in the next later composition affords us an interesting and incisive illustration of the changes in ideas which took place as the Avesta progressed from a more interior to an exterior theosophy, as well as of the lapse of time during which its several parts must have been composed. The so-called Amesha, Asha, Vohu Manah, Khshathra, Aramaiti, (*haurvatât* and *ameratatât*) may be everything in a high, moral, and religious sense, or they may

¹ See the *Revue Critique* of Sept. 28, 1893, p. 150; so also by letter.

be merely interesting lower conceptions, according as we recognise them in their severally distinct senses, or rather in the several differing directions in which each thought which they express extends itself; for it is the undoubted fact that the terms which express these ideas, simple and clear as they are in themselves, are used in very widely differing applications, within the limits prescribed by the radical meaning both originally and continuously present in each.

And this is true, especially of the first four. I might almost say that the very 'enigma' of the Gâthas consists in the difficulty of deciding as to which one of the several possible senses it is desirable to attach to the words in any given passage, for there lies an uncertainty which leaves us in doubt as to some of the specific statements of doctrine, as well as to the details of some of the historic scenes more or less faintly depicted in the hymns, and it prevents us from being sure whether the composer was talking of the Heavens, or of the State, of the Congregation, or of an Archangel. I even think that the other obscure terms which too frequently occur, difficult as they may be, are matters of easy accommodation (I will not say of solution) in comparison with these. Those excruciating survivals bear their inexplicable mystery within their own forms and base, but our difficulty with the names of the Amesha Spends consists in deciding as to which one out of several definitions or representations may have been the one intended by the composer in any one out of a score of passages to be expressed with nothing but a too often shattered context to guide us in our choice. Certainly the question as to an alternative explanation, at least, of the inscrutable *hapaxlegomena* bears no comparison to these difficulties to which I allude, unless we resort in their case also to alternative opinions. Indeed, so far as experts may wish to embitter controversy for external reasons, they could not make a shrewder selection of a subject upon which to denounce each other than just this question. It is, to my mind, not only the most difficult problem which lies before us in the full exegesis of the Avesta, but it is altogether the most important to our searches in the field of Comparative Religion and Comparative Morals in all the Zoroastrian literature.

My venerated and greatly distinguished friend, the late Professor von Roth of Tübingen, than whom no shrewder *philolog* ever lived, once told me that he was satisfied with 'bona mens' as a translation for Vohu Manah. But what as to the interpretation (so to speak) of 'bona mens'? Here this great expositor would have led us all in attributing to the words meanings so different as the difference between a divine attribute and a human being, an archangel, and a person's characteristic. And as to Asha, he would render it now as "the law," now as "the congregation," while, as I

well remember, he once expressed himself as much struck on suddenly opening at Y. xxxiii. 11, where the whole four Asha, Vohu Manah, Khshathra, and Aramaiti are invoked "to come" as persons and "to pardon" or "to cleanse." Now this astonishing difference in the actual sense in which the words or names are used is startling enough when it is said to occur under any circumstances, but how much more curious it becomes when we remember that there are no still surviving indications to apprise us as to which of these various meanings of the terms is made use of. It is one of the most singular phenomena of literature as well as one of the most undoubted of facts; and its exceptional character becomes still more marked when we notice the total absence of any intentional jugglery or mysticism or of any effort whatsoever to obscure the issues,—that is to say, the absence of all factitious or mechanical double sense.

But to grapple at once with those difficulties. They present themselves in throngs, grave or light, important or trivial. Take such a passage as Y. xxxii. 6: "these in thy kingdom I place, in Asha thy truths I establish." Does Asha here represent the "constitution" or "code of laws" in the terms and articles of which the composer speaks of 'establishing the doctrines,' or does he mean that he will 'establish them in the community'?

Take another expression. "Thy prophet's message (he mourns), but it holds him from sight of Asha." Does this mean from the sight of the Archangel Asha, or from the sight of "the holy community," or from the observation of Asha as "the law," or of the "principle of holiness" in the individual believer's soul; or, to lower the ideas as much as possible, do the terms refer to the sight of Asha as the celebration of the ritual before the altars from the sight of which the heretic was to be excluded?

Take again the words "whose soul is united with Asha." Does this mean "united in sympathetic devotion with Asha as the sub-god or Archangel," or does it mean "united in spiritual sympathy with Asha as the law of holiness," or again does it mean "united with Asha as the church," the holy community?

Or take the case of Vohu Manah in any one of a score of passages—Y. xliii, 7—for instance; "when he came to me with the good mind." Does this refer to the good mind as the sound sagacity of the good citizen, or "to the good mind as the penetrating knowledge of the sub-god, Vohu Manah," or "to the good mind as the beneficent sanity of the Supreme Being," or do the words mean "in company with the good-minded man"?

Then as to Khshathra, does the word refer in many passages to the eternal sovereignty of God, or to the "Archangel," (Khshathra) the sub-god of the kingly power or to the "government of the

holy state," or "to the authority of a particular administration or monarch"? or even "to the land"?

And so of Aramaiti, is it "the activity" or "mental motion" of the Supreme God as His attribute, or is it Aramaiti as the fourth Archangel called "devotion"? Or is it "the active piety of the holy people," or does it point to Aramaiti as in a particular group of executive officers, the "ready functionaries of the state," or, finally, is Aramaiti (so early as the Gâtha) associated with the holy earth, the culture of which needed the active, or possibly the 'ploughing' attention.

Here are difficulties severe enough, one would say, to appal the boldest, and nearly the same class of puzzles meets us with reference to the name Haurvatât "universal health and wholeness," and Ameretatât "deathlessness." When is Haurvatât used as the weal of the State? When as the health of the individual? When as the attribute of the Supreme God? When is it the personified Archangel? And when may it refer to the boards of medicine (*sic*), and when again possibly, as in the later Avesta, does the word carry with it an allusion to the great source of salubrious weal, the "waters" without which diseases would stalk abroad? And when also does Ameretatât mean the 'undying long life of the community'? When that of the individual? When the 'immortality' of the Deity? When is it the Archangel? When the aged sages of the Government? And when does it possibly carry with it, as in the later Avesta, an allusion to the sources of prolonged undying life, the vegetable world?

Let us now have a moment's patience while we look at these questions somewhat closely, for full illustrations are strictly needed. Men of gifts engaged in other specialities may be slow indeed to comprehend even the possibility of the existence of such obscurities, much less of their approximate solution.

And here I may call attention to a fact which seems even more startling than that already mentioned. It is this. Not only is there a total absence of all statements aside from the contexts which might assist us in our endeavour to make out which one of the several senses we are expected to see in any given passage, but we have the still more incomprehensible circumstance that these several simple words, vitally important as they are to the result, are not only used in these several different senses without any terms affording explanations, but are so used in passages *closely contiguous* to each other. We have Asha as the "law" in one stanza and Asha as the "Archangel" in the next, while Asha as the "Church" may immediately follow, all closely grouped in the different senses, and with no written explanations between. And so with Vohu Manah. In one strophe it stands in its natural sense as describing a condi-

tion of the will and intellect, at the next as the Archangel personifying the benevolence of the Almighty, and, further, in other applications as we shall see below. And so of the different uses of Khshathra, they alternate in a manner the most abrupt, while Aramaiti is similarly employed now as a mere adjective, now as the Archangel in closely adjoining passages. So also with the others.

To illustrate this in places where it inspires the sense of living sentences, let us hastily trace Asha and Vohu Manah as they occur in one short connected passage (Yasna xxviii.), and we shall be able to see how this actually happens. In strophe, or as we should more naturally say, in verse, 1 the priestly prophet prays 'with hands uplift I beseech, with praise for this grace the first blessing, all actions done with Asha.' Does this Asha mean with the Community, as we might say "with the Church"? And are these actions ceremonies and those alone? (Not that any sensible scholars have as yet advanced such a view.) Hardly, for the following line enters at once into the very heart of the people's practical national interests, which centred in the cattle-culture, herds being sacred for the best of reasons. Their care would be like a cry of militarism with others; how then could 'all deeds with Asha' be confined to the "ceremonies" in the immediately preceding words?

It would take an exceedingly close-knit priestcraft to convince a farmer-nation that attending church could raise their breeds.

It was Yasna xxix. 1 which especially moved the composer, and the reciter also had it immediately in his view, and in that graphic verse the 'Soul of the kine' emits a prophetic roar which recalls the later "groan of the creation":

"Then loud cried the kine's Soul;
'For whom did ye form, who made me?
On me come wrath and the blow
The murder's shock, contempt's defiance.'"

The prayed-for actions done in the Right were a response to that.

He prayed that their manly work¹ might be carried out with system, and with that honest discipline as well as defensive valour which had become characteristic of their simple but refined civilisation (that is to say, in accordance with Asha as the spirit of their domestic law), so that those in charge of a vast cattle interest might be at peace, and the owners of the herds with their dependants saved from recourse to that murderous border warfare which was so characteristic of the age and place.

And yet in what follows in this same line, in the midst of this explanatory sequence, the companion term to Asha "the good mind" is used (in the sense) of the "good man," i.e., the "good

¹ The Vedic equivalent means "mighty deeds," and never refers to sacrifices.

citizen" (or the orthodox believer), as the immediate and most prominent idea intended by the composer to be conveyed by the expressions of which he makes use. The understanding of the "good mind," that is to say, of the "good-minded man" for which he prays was the sagacity of Yasna xxix. 2.

"How had'st thou for kine a chieftain,
Thus the kine's maker asked of Asha,
When, ruling ones, ye made her
With the herds kine-breeding, clever.

Whom chose ye her life's master
Wrath from the faithless ones smiting?"

But in the very next strophe, "I who will encircle You in company with the pious worshipper, the good minded man," would be out of place from the obvious fact that the mental frame and good intention with which the composer represents himself as "approaching" God was the very plea advanced by him for the granting of his prayer; and yet, as we have seen, the words immediately follow the same expression in a previous line where the composer certainly, or most probably, did have in his mind's eye different ideas. So in this same strophe, Y. xxviii. 2, Asha in the words, "the prizes by right deserved," obviously refers again to the composer's merit. Yet in the immediately following verse the personality of the great sub-god (together with that of Vohu Manah the Good Mind) comes out in all its force, "I who will praise You, O Asha." Not even a single line separates it from the last where the idea of the personal Archangel would be wholly out of place. And the same may be said of the Vohu Manah which appears here; it is undoubtedly the personified concept, the sub-god or archangel which the composer would conjointly praise together with Asha. "I who will weave my hymn to You, O Asha, and Vohu Manah, and Ahura in a manner unsurpassed," whereas in the immediately preceding strophe the idea of the Archangel Vohu Manah is quite as impossible as that of Asha, that is to say, as the first idea immediately intended by the composer to be conveyed in the terms of which he made use, and all the while the words continue as the bare letters spell them. Vohu Manah means the 'Good Mind' (literally) and nothing else, and Asha means the 'regularity of law.'

In strophe 5 again we have peculiarly spiritual personifications. "O Asha, when shall I see thee" may fairly be referred to the Archangel, but with such an inflow of the profounder associations of the name that it is almost equivalent to the bare conception, "O Holiness, when shall I see thee," "O Angel of the holy law," could not fail to recall, with impressions the most vivid, all that

Asha meant. The personification must be here regarded as distinctly of the rhetorical type, and of the most interior significance in its emphatic force. See all that goes before it, the "prizes of the heavenly and bodily world," and the soul "stirred to remember the rewards of Ahura," and "vowing to learn and teach the law of holiness as much as it is able and may have the chance."

But in strophe 7, with no proper shading off of terminology, the personification becomes more objective. "O Asha grant me an ashi," that is to say, "a reward."¹

In 8 Ahura is prayed to as being of "one will with Asha."

In 9 the seer "hopes that he does not perturb (*sic*) Asha or Ahura"—each passage surpassing its predecessor in the reproduction of anthropomorphic traits. But in 10 we find personification suddenly barred; Ahura could not "know" the sacred institutions from either the "congregation" or the "Archangel."

The word "from Asha" does not qualify the word "laws," judging from the relative positions, and nothing prevents our seeing here the highest meaning which the term can convey. Ahura is asked "to recall what he knows from His inherent holiness." But we have as sudden a change after this as before it. In the first line of the next immediately following and last strophe of the section, we read—

"I who to guard Thine Asha
And the Good Mind am set for ever."

Here Asha is, of course, the "Church," while Vohu Manah is the "good-minded man."

Such are the transitions within the Gâthas in the shades of their subtle sense; while to show that our task is not ended with the Gâthas, see the sublime Yasht xiii. 82, where of the Amesha it is said, "Who are seven, and who rule with might, whose look itself has power (it performs their wish); lofty they are, and coming on to help us; lordly they are, indestructible, and holy; seven of the same thought, and word, and deed; whose souls see each other thinking good thoughts, speaking good words, and doing good deeds, and of Garodman (Heaven, the Abode of Song); who have the same Father and commander, Ahura Mazda, and shining are their paths as they come down to help us." Here they not only possess thought, but have an anthropomorphism carried so far as that it can be said, "they serve a commander and are the sons or daughters of a father" (with no restriction of the relation to any one of them).

And yet when we reach this acme of hypostatization, as pointed in its kind as the acme of unadulterated pure principle (see above),

¹ Notice how fully this forbids the idea of the congregation; fancy "O congregation give me a reward."

and notice that Vohu Manah, the supreme benevolence has from some cause succeeded in placing himself at the head of them, and are aroused (so to speak) to a full apprehension of existence of the archangelic persons as forming with Ahura a Heptade (six sub-deities with a Supreme Being), we come suddenly upon such a passage as Y. xlix. 10, where in the very midst of the Gâthas themselves Vohu Manah actually means the "good citizen" (or church member) beyond any manner of doubt.

"These lay I safest Lord,
In Thy protection
The one good-minded (*i.e.* Vohu Manah)
And the souls of saints. . . ."

The "good mind" of God could not have been committed for keeping to God Himself in the same sense as that in which the souls of saints were confided to Him. Vohu Manah is therefore here the saint alive, because the "souls of saints," that is to say, the "departed souls," stand in antithesis. The last idea is the guaranty of the first. The later Avesta is in no degree behind the mother lore in this use of Vohu Manah, for it clinches this concept "man" so firmly, that it actually speaks of Vohu Manah (Vendidâd xix. 20) as possible to be defiled, just as a Jew would speak of ceremonial taint; while to show how this usage could vary in this late Avesta as in the early, here in this same Vendidâd, ten verses ahead of the place just quoted in this same chapter (xix. 31), Vohu Manah (always literally "the good mind") is represented in his full archangelic personality as standing before the golden throne, the representative of God (his foremost son¹) and receiving the approaching souls.

Such are the transitions in both the old Avesta and the new. They are as broad as they are unexpected. I think that they are very remarkable; and considering the acknowledged importance of the documents in which they occur, they should engage the close attention of experts. Men of wide reading, who may also have known much of the more popular phases of Zoroastrianism, may never have surmised why some of the most difficult as well as valued strophes in the Zend Avesta *were* difficult, while any tyro might translate them literally.

If space can be afforded me in a future number of this *Review*, I hope to be able to give other particulars which may solve the difficulties presented.

L. H. MILLS.

¹ Yasht xiii. 83.

1. Prediger und Hoheslied (in Nowack's Handkommentar).

Uebersetzt und erklärt von C. Siegfried, Prof. d. Theol. in Jena. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. iv. 126. Price, M.2.60.

2. Die Socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten.

Von Frants Buhl, Prof. der Theol. in Leipzig. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. v. 130. Price, M.2.

3. Moderne Darstellungen der Geschichte Israels.

Von S. A. Fries. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. iii. 40. Price, 60pf.

4. Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations.

By A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. London: Service & Paton, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 338. Price, 6s.

5. Die Jesajaerzählungen, Jesaja 36-39.

Ein historisch-kritische Untersuchung von Lic. J. Meinhold, a. o. Prof. d. Theol. in Bonn. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. iv. 104. Price, M.3.

6. The Book of Job.

Translated direct from the Hebrew Text into current English, by Ferrar Fenton, assisted by Henrik Borgström of Helsingfors, Finland. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. 8vo, pp. iv. 46. Price, paper, 6d.; cloth, limp, 1s.

7. Alttestamentliche Studien.

Von G. Stosch, Pfarrer zu Berlin. Gütersloh: G. Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1898. Part III. 8vo, pp. iii. 209. Price, M.2.

1. BOTH *Qoheleth* and *Canticles* have suffered many things in the past from commentators. In our own day, however, scientific and careful treatment of them is gradually leading to the discovery of their original meaning. In such a series as Nowack's *Handkommentar* and from such a pen as that of Professor Siegfried we look for much, and certainly in the present instance we are not disappointed.

The peculiar feminine form of the name קהלת is explained by Siegfried upon the analogy of other feminine nouns which designate in the first instance a class and then a prominent representative individual belonging to that class. In other words קהלת = קהל חכמים "an assembly of sages," and then a prominent typical member of this assembly. The reason why the collocation "Qoheleth, son of David, King of Jerusalem" is used instead of the simple name *Solomon* is because it is not as *king* but as *sage* that that monarch is in view. It is needless of course nowadays to argue against the Solomonic authorship.

An interesting sketch is given of the history of critical opinion as to the unity of the book. In the great variety of views that have been taken of the aim and character of the writer, Siegfried finds a proof that it is out of the question to treat it as a unity. In fact it contains the most glaring self-contradictions; *e.g.*, iii. 1-8, and especially the conclusion stated in v. 9, is in flat contradiction with v. 11; iii. 16, iv. 1 with iii. 17, v. 7, viii. 11; iii. 18-21 with xii. 7, and the latter again apparently with v. 8; vii. 15, viii. 10, 12a, 14 with vii. 17, viii. 5, 12b, 13, &c. &c. Nor can any plan be discovered in the book in its present shape. Bickell's bold hypothesis of the derangement caused by the bookbinder does not upon the whole commend itself to Siegfried any more than P. Haupt's attempt to restore the original connection.

In Q¹, the author of the primitive *Qoheleth*, Siegfried finds a Jew whose faith had suffered shipwreck, and who had the courage of his convictions. Natural, not moral law, according to this pessimist, rules everywhere. Divine Providence is an idle dream. Such conceptions, as they certainly were not drawn from the Old Testament, may with much plausibility be held to be the outcome of Greek influence.

But for the reputed Solomonic authorship, this work would never have survived the currents that prevailed in later Judaism. As it could not be rejected, it was glossed in various interests. First came a glossator, Q², who was not a radical opponent of his predecessor. Taking a less serious view of life, this Epicurean Sadducee, as Siegfried supposes him to have been, glorifies eating and drinking, &c., as real pleasures which supply much compensation for human woes, and altogether looks at things in a more cheerful light. It is to him that we owe such sayings as "A living dog is better than a dead lion," and "It is sweet to behold the light of the sun."

Another reader of Q¹ resented his depreciation of wisdom. This glossator, Q³, added ii. 13, 14a, iv. 5, vi. 8, 9a, vii. 11, 12, 19, viii. 1, ix. 13-18, x. 1-3, 12-15. Q¹ had recommended men to give up the hopeless struggle (iv. 4, 6b); Q³ interjects the remark (iv. 5) that none but a fool will act thus.

Still sharper opposition was called forth by those utterances of Q¹ which denied Divine Providence, &c. Q⁴, one of the *Hasidim*, touched up the book in the interests of traditional piety, adding ii. 24b-26a, iii. 11, 13, 14, 17, iv. 17—v. 1, 3, 5, 6b, 7, vi. 10-12, vii. 13, 17, 23-25, 29, viii. 2-8, 11-13, ix. 1, xi. 5, 8b, 9b, xii. 1a, 7b.

Even this was not all. Other glossators, who may be included under the title Q⁵, applied their hand to the book at various times and for various reasons. Then we have three special additions: (a) xii. 9, 10; (b) xii. 11, 13; (c) xii. 13, 14, the last being from the hand of a Pharisee who cherished belief in a future judgment which had not yet dawned upon Q⁴.

The language of *Qoheleth*, alike vocabulary and syntax (both of which are copiously illustrated by our author), marks the latest stage of the Old Hebrew, when the transition was beginning to the language of the Mishna. Q¹ may have written shortly after 200; Q², Q³, Q⁴, Q⁵ at various times down to 100 B.C., at which latter date also the three special additions above noticed were made to the book. This does not in the least imply that the kernel of the book was not known to ben-Sirach, in whose work analogies to *Qoheleth* are to be discovered.

On *Canticles*, Siegfried of course rejects the allegorical interpretation to which, however, that book owes its place in the Canon. After a careful examination of the dramatic theories of Delitzsch and Ewald, he rejects both, and accepts substantially Budde's interpretation, the basis for which was laid in Wetzstein's *Syrische Dreschtafel*. As our readers are aware, upon this theory the Song of Songs is made up of a collection of *wasfs* (Siegfried discovers ten of these in the book) sung during the celebration of a marriage feast, the only unity which they possess being that of *place* and *occasion*. There are not wanting indications that this may come to be the finally accepted interpretation of the Song.

Upon linguistic and other grounds, Siegfried would assign *Canticles* to the third or, better, to the second century B.C. He sees no ground for the opinion that its origin may be traced to N. Israel.

Both the commentaries are worthy of Professor Siegfried, and of the series to which they belong.

2. In this work Professor Buhl's aim is to give such a sketch of the conditions of life in ancient Israel as may be of interest at the present day when social questions engage so large a share of attention.

Although the nomadic life of early Israel left traces upon its language, and even upon its modes of thought, it was more especially in connexion with the Land of Canaan that the national development took place. Hence we are introduced, first of all, to

an interesting description of what was upon the whole "a good land" (Deut. iv. 21; *cf.* viii. 7 ff.). The changes produced upon the national character by the life of Canaan, the gradual evolution of institutions down to the introduction of the monarchy, and the advance of the latter from its primitive simplicity under Saul to the luxury and despotism of Solomon and some of his successors, all this is carefully traced. In speaking of the family, Buhl agrees with Robertson Smith that traces can still be discovered of the prevalence in very ancient times of the matriarchate in Israel. In historical times, however, the father had come to be all in all. Woman's position, notwithstanding this, was always higher in practice than in theory. Nor was the lot of slaves in general a hard one.

On the important question of the population of Palestine at various periods, Buhl remarks that it is difficult to reach certainty. The 40,000 warriors of Deborah's Song (where Judah and one or two other tribes are not included) gives us a reliable datum for the period of the Judges. Through the amalgamation with the Canaanites there must have been a very considerable increase during the early years of the monarchy, but the 1,300,000 (800,000 in Israel and 500,000 in Judah) capable warriors of 2 Sam. xxiv. 9 must be an enormous exaggeration. Upon any theory this would imply a population for the whole country of nearly five millions, which would be twice as many inhabitants per square mile as are found in Belgium at the present day! Assyrian and other data appear to justify the conclusion that the capable warriors of Israel in the time of Menahem numbered 60,000, and that the population of Judah was about 225,000. If we suppose the population of the Northern kingdom to have been thrice as large, this would give a population for the whole country of about one million, which may be regarded as approximately correct.

Very interesting details are given about industries and occupations in Palestine, the officials, the taxes, &c. &c.

A great deal underlies this little volume which does not appear upon the surface. It is calculated to be eminently useful at present, especially to those who desire to have a reliable guide to the conditions of life amongst the Jews, but who have not the leisure to study large or elaborate works like those of Schürer and Bertholet. We trust it may be translated into English.

3. Dr Fries has published a paper which he read last September at the first Science of Religion Congress at Stockholm. Its object is to indicate the present position of the critical views of Israel's history, and the attitude towards these which a cautious but not anti-critical onlooker should assume.

Starting with the motto, "Etwas anderes ist Glaube, etwas anderes Wissenschaft," Fries touches first of all upon the practically unanimous acceptance by scholars of the main principles contended for by Wellhausen, and expresses the conviction that upon the whole these principles are destined to final triumph. At the same time he indicates three directions, in which he thinks Wellhausen lays himself open to attack, and names three books, all published in 1895, which expose these weaknesses. First of all, there has been a tendency, he alleges, in the school of Wellhausen to confuse between the lateness of the *form* of P and the lateness of its *contents*, and to assign too little historical value to the latter. As a counterbalance to this, he recommends Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*. Secondly, Israel's history appears to Fries to have been hitherto studied too much in isolation. Winckler's *Geschichte* (Theil I.) may partially help to cure this, and more books like Buhl's *Geschichte der Edomiter*. We need at present, especially, histories of the Philistines and the Samaritans. Thirdly, the great doctrine of the Wellhausen school regarding the centralisation of the cultus by the Deuteronomic code has been, he thinks, held too rigidly, and he points, as a corrective to this, to van Hoonacker's *Lieu du culte dans la législation rituelle des Hébreux*. We frankly confess that in this last direction we do not expect much to be accomplished, although we have the highest respect for van Hoonacker both as a scholar and a controversialist. Nor can we agree with Fries in his conclusions as to the result of the triangular duel between Kusters, Meyer, and Wellhausen, while the attitude he commends to us meanwhile savours a little of a counsel of perfection.

The main value of the work is as a *résumé* of Old Testament literature, and the present position of parties, although on some points the author's statements must be read with caution. Already in the *Theol. Tijdschrift* (Sept. 1898), Oort has taken exception to Fries's account of the state of critical opinion in Holland, and above all to his selecting of Valeton and Wildeboer as types of those who wear the mantle of Kuenen. The tractate, however, for many reasons deserves careful study.

4. Professor Sayce has a genius for manufacturing books. His latest production contains little that is new, in the way either of truth or error, being to a large extent a *réchauffée* of material contained in his *Verdict of the Monuments* and his *Early History of the Hebrews*. As the latter work was so recently dealt with by Professor Bevan in the *Critical Review* (April 1898), a very few words will suffice here.

A good deal of valuable information about Israel and its

neighbours is repeated from earlier works, and not a few fallacious statements and arguments also reappear. "The story of Chedorlaomer's campaign preserved in Genesis has found complete verification" (p. xvi). Professor Sayce appears to think that persistent reiteration of a statement will finally gain acceptance for it. Of course, everyone who has followed the course of these controversies is well aware that recent discoveries, although of extreme interest and importance from many points of view, *leave the question of the historicity of Gen. xiv. untouched*. The "Greater and the lesser Hittite land" (p. 81), has no support, as was shown by Mr G. Buchanan Gray in the *Expositor* (May 1898, p. 340 f.). It is hardly fair for the author to give his own interpretation of "Perizzite" and "Hittite" (p. 99) as if there were no doubt about its correctness. But this is characteristic of this writer everywhere. A glaring instance in point occurs on p. 240, where we read: "The turn of Tyre came next. For thirteen years it was patiently blockaded, and in B.C. 573 it passed with its fleet into Nebuchadnezzar's hands." Tyre *may* have been captured, but unless Professor Sayce has inscriptional evidence to that effect (in which case we humbly apologise beforehand), it is unpardonable to state as an unquestioned fact what appears to be unknown to any of the recent commentators on *Ezekiel*, or to Professor Hommel who writes (Clark's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 229a), "Tyre, however, in spite of a thirteen years' siege, *could not be taken*."

The appendices to the volume are devoted to Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hebrew Chronology; translations of the letters of Ebed-tob (or -kheba), Mesha's inscription, the treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittites, the Travels of a Mohar, the Negative Confession of the Egyptians, the letters of Khammurabi to Sin-idinnam,¹ the Babylonian Story of the Deluge, the Babylonian Epic of the Creation, and a Sumerian account of the Creation from the city of Eridu. It is not pleasant to read a book where one has no sense of security, and where no important statement can be accepted without verification; at the same time, it is of course true that in the work before us a discriminating eye will detect a good deal of wheat as well as chaff.

5. This is the first instalment of a projected course of Isaiah studies by Professor Meinhold. The relation of Isa. xxxvi.-xxxix.

¹ Since the publication of Professor Sayce's book, Mr King has proved that the name of Chedorlaomer is erroneously read by Scheil in these letters. Professor Sayce (*Expos. Times*, March 1899), admits this. It is somewhat ominous that this fresh retraction should have had to follow so soon upon the exposure of the mistake into which he fell in his *Early History of the Hebrews* about Scheil's Deluge Tablet.

to 2 Kings xviii. 13—xx. 19, as well as the historicity of these chapters, have been much debated. It is generally conceded that they are not from the pen of Isaiah. In the work before us the text, the arrangement, and the historical character are all carefully examined.

In general, the conclusion is reached by Meinhold that, with the exception of 2 Kings xviii. 13-16, all the passages are exilic, while their historical value varies. The passage just named, 2 Kings xviii. 13-16, is the most reliable of all, being probably an extract from the Temple archives. Of chaps. xxxviii., xxxix., our author does not form a high estimate, Isaiah exhibiting in them rather the position of a "medicine man" or a soothsayer than the dignity of a prophet. Along with xxxvii. 9b-36, whose sharply-defined monotheism is enough to disprove Isaianic authorship, they were in all probability extracted from a book of prophetic legends similar to those which record the deeds of Elijah and Elisha. Some would place Isa. vii. and xx. on the same footing as this, but Meinhold contends that in the latter two chapters we have firm historical ground as well true Isaianic utterances. The story of the pestilence which destroyed the Assyrian army is examined by Meinhold at great length; and while he does not deny that something of the kind may have happened, he argues that it is just the kind of story to which some of the genuine prophecies of Isaiah were certain to give rise. It is a matter of little consequence that there is no allusion to the story in the cuneiform inscriptions, but it is more serious that the retreat of Sennacherib seems in the Bible itself to be traced to other causes which sufficiently explain it without having recourse to the hypothesis of a pestilence. The famous story in Herodotus about the havoc that mice played amongst the armour of the Assyrians meets with scant courtesy at the hands of Meinhold, who declines to see either here or in the story of the golden mice sent back by the Philistines with the Ark, any symbolical allusion to pestilence. We confess that his arguments on this point have not convinced us. Isa. xxxvi. 2 ff. = 2 Kings xviii. 17 ff. is pronounced to contain a good many historical features, but to reveal here and there a "Tendenz"; Isa. xxxvii. 22-29, while it has to do with the failure of Sennacherib's attempt on Jerusalem, is strange to its present context, and can hardly be dated earlier than just before the close of the captivity. The closing section of Meinhold's book is devoted to what strikes us as a very fair examination of the Assyrian records.

The whole investigation is marked both by an intimate acquaintance with the literature of the subject and by independence of judgment, and the book is written in a clear and readable style. Even if at times it strikes us that the author is just a little eager

to discover "Tendenz," or a little hypercritical in his attitude to some of the evidence, it must be admitted that he never forces his conclusions upon us, but presents both sides with perfect fairness. Professor Meinhold has made a useful addition to the Isaiah literature.

6. Mr Ferrar Fenton has already published a translation of the New Testament into "current English," which, we are told, has been so favourably received that it is now proposed to produce the entire Old Testament as well. The first instalment of this lies before us in the *Book of Job*, with which a commencement has been made for the extraordinary reason given in the Preface, that, with the exception perhaps of the first eleven chapters of Genesis, this book reasonably claims to be the oldest portion of Scripture! Although Mr Fenton certainly fails in a good many instances to give a correct rendering, yet, upon the whole, readers will receive from his version a fairly true impression of the force and rhythm of the original. The language is at times somewhat colloquial, as when we find such expressions as "dash me to bits," "broken to bits." Is "swallow my spit" current English? We must protest, too, against the use of "you" for "Thou" in addressing the Deity. The plural pronoun not only jars upon one's nerves, but frequently obscures the reference. And what is a "fladge"? (See translation of Job xiv. 11.)

7. The third instalment of Pfarrer Stosch's *Alttest. Studien* pursues the same aims and methods as its predecessors. This author belongs to the straitest sect of the anti-critics, and apparently makes it his proudest boast that at the end of the nineteenth century he is completely untouched by the historical spirit. As we read his productions—and he is readable beyond many of his countrymen—we scarcely ever feel that he introduces us to a world of actualities. Neither his Moses nor his Israel have flesh and blood, and the arguments in which he appears to have such confidence strike one as extraordinarily unreal. It must in justice be added that the critics whom he opposes are creations of his own imagination, so that there is a kind of consistency in fighting shadowy foes with unsubstantial weapons.

We merely note summarily a few points. The remark in Num. xiii. 22 that "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt" is one of the most incontrovertible proofs of the Mosaic authorship of this passage, for Moses alone, from his familiarity with Egyptian history, could have known the date of the building of Zoan (p. 66). The study of Balaam's ass (p. 109 ff.) will repay perusal. Is Stosch himself here altogether untainted with the

rationalism he so abhors? The composition of Deuteronomy by another and later hand than that of Moses means simply forgery and sacrilege. "As little as the devil could create God's world of light, could a forger have created Deuteronomy" (p. 145). The argument drawn by critics from the expression *בְּעֵינֵי הַיָּהוָה* is, of course, devoid of all force. "The priests the Levites," instead of implying that all Levites might be priests, expressly distinguishes the Levites who were priests from those who were not (p. 179, n.)!!! Deuteronomy was not only written by Moses, but written by him *before the eyes* of all Israel, so that the critics who deny the Mosaic authorship have thousands of eye- and ear- witnesses against them (p. 197). We did not expect to find Stosch holding that Moses did not write the account of his own death, and we fear that the attributing of this passage and a few others to Joshua is hardly consistent with the lofty supranaturalism of the rest of the book.

To serious students the only possible use of such a book will be to serve as an indirect justification of criticism. Pfarrer Stosch tilts valiantly at windmills, and achieves not a little success in knocking down men of straw, but he cannot spin ropes out of sand. It is a matter for sincere regret that one who is undoubtedly a scholar, and who can write in a forcible and attractive style, should not have used his talents in a better cause. J. A. SELBIE.

The Theology of the New Testament.

By George Barker Stevens, Ph.D., D.D. Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University. (International Theological Library.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. xvi. 618. Price, 12s.

IN this important work, which doubtless will serve for some time as the standard text-book for English readers in the subject of which it treats, Dr Stevens follows the now universally acknowledged method of keeping distinct the several schools of teaching in the N. T. Like Beyschlag, but unlike Wendt, he completes his survey of the teaching of Jesus according to the Synoptics before dealing with the fourth Gospel. Next he proceeds to consider the remainder of the N. T. teaching in the order—Primitive Apostolic Teaching, The Theology of Paul, The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, The Theology of the Apocalypse, The Theology of John—making seven parts in all, each in a way distinct and complete.

Part I. *The Synoptic Teaching of Jesus.*—In discussing our

Lord's sayings Dr Stevens arranges the subjects organically rather than systematically, approaching them not as we are accustomed to have them set forth in Systematic Theology, with the doctrine of God and the Trinity first, and so on, but along the line of the historical development, beginning with the relation of the Gospel to the Law, then coming to "The Kingdom of God," "The Son of Man," etc. In setting out the first of these themes he maintains that Jesus "took His stand upon the O. T. and did not introduce a wholly new religion;" but that "while He builds upon the O. T., He also builds far above and beyond it." Jesus fulfils the O. T. "by rounding out into ideal completeness what is incomplete in that system" (page 9). "If it is asked, Is not the Christian under the authority of the Ten Commandments? the reply is, In their O. T. form and as part of that system, he is not. The essential substance of the Ten Commandments consists of changeless principles of righteousness, and is therefore a part of Christianity; in that sense the Christian is under the commandments and in no other" (page 25). The popular modern distinction between the moral law and the ceremonial law does not appear in the N. T.

Dr Stevens does not clearly distinguish between the two ideas of the Kingdom of God as a "realm" and as a "rule"; but he treats the subject in a way that implies the latter view, dealing with it as God's government, so that he is far from identifying the Kingdom with the Church. He contends against Wendt's idea that at first Jesus aimed at reforming the Jewish theocracy instead of establishing a new order.

After a careful discussion of the various explanations of the title "The Son of Man" adopted by our Lord, the conclusion is reached that it was not a popular name for the Messiah; but neither can we be satisfied with the simple view that Jesus only meant to point to Himself as an individual man. [Dr Stevens does not notice that the form was a common contemporary Aramaism; in Aramaic "Son of man" = "man."] Calling attention to the range of passages in which our Lord uses the term he decides that it is intended to designate the One who is to usher in the Kingdom of God.

The title "Son of God" was in occasional use as an approximate synonym for the Messiah; but with Christ it was rather personal than official; as used by our Lord "it emphasises rather his relation to God than his relation to his life work" (page 61). Dr Stevens declines to enter into the discussion of the consciousness of Christ, now pursued so daringly on the Continent, but while considering that the title "Son of God" applied to men as well as to Christ has essentially an ethical content and points to

a moral relation with God, he urges on the ground of our Lord's sinlessness His unique personal sonship. Though this is a legitimate argument it is scarcely to be included in the teaching of Jesus.

Next we have the teaching of Jesus on the Fatherhood of God. "He does not aim to define God; he rather describes how He acts" (page 64). The idea of the Divine Fatherhood was based on the O. T., but went further and was more explicit. Though not distinctly stated, it is implied in our Lord's teaching that it is of universal application, *i.e.*, that God is the Father of all mankind, though there is a special sonship for those who are restored from sin.

In a careful study of the teaching in relation to good and evil spirits, Dr Stevens frankly admits that Christ only spoke in the current ideas of the time. All the symptoms of possession are characteristic of one or another physical or mental malady. But although Christ spoke of these cases after the manner of His time, in accordance with current ideas, it is not to be allowed that His authority as a teacher is committed to the correctness of those ideas.

Jesus did not regard men as totally depraved from the beginning, or He would not have spoken of children as He did. He saw in men a mixture of good and evil. He grounded the hope of a future life upon man's essential kinship to God. But He assumed that all men are sinners and have need to repent.

A consideration of the Messianic salvation brings into notice Christ's statement that He came to give His life as a ransom. Dr Stevens rejects Ritschl's interpretation of *λύτρον* as the equivalent of the Hebrew *כִּפָּר*, a "protecting covering"—the *ἀντί* is against it. Agreeing with Wendt and Beyschlag that it means "ransom" (*Lösegeld*), he rejects Wendt's notion that it represents the purchasing of men's freedom from sin and death by the influence of an example of supreme devotion to God, and Beyschlag's more specific idea that Christ was directly thinking of the ambitious claims of James and John, and expressed the hope "that these ties of selfish desires would at length be broken by his approaching death" (*N.T. Theol.* I., page 153). Something more must be found in the words. The apostolic theology, it is admitted, regards the death of Christ as directly related to the forgiveness of sins. "Which persons," asks Professor Stevens, "are most likely to have correctly apprehended the significance which Jesus attached to his death—men like John and Peter, and, I may add, Paul (who passed two weeks with Peter when this subject was uppermost in his thoughts, Gal. i. 18), or an equal number of scholars in our time, etc.?" (page 133). This raises a difficult question that we cannot here stay to discuss. Some would demur

at the way of putting it. Dr Stevens allows that our Lord's language is figurative, and that we are not told how His death contributed to deliverance.

One of the most difficult questions concerning our Lord's teaching rises from the apocalyptic discourses attributed to Him in the Synoptic Gospels. There the destruction of Jerusalem, the Parousia, and the final judgment appear to be blended in one near series of events. At least that seems to be the case in Matthew and Mark; there is more distinction in Luke. Dr Stevens courageously attacks this question. The position is admitted, and we have to ask how it is to be regarded in view of subsequent events. "It is possible," he writes, "to hold that Jesus actually used the words in question"—concerning His coming in the clouds with the angels—"referring to the triumph of his kingdom, and that the early disciples referred them to his parousia" (page 158). We are led to the conclusion that all three evangelists have applied to a final coming sayings of Christ which could not have been originally intended to refer to that event. Nevertheless it is maintained that we could not reasonably explain the prominent place which the expectation of the Second Advent had in the mind of the early Church if Jesus had been wholly silent on the subject. In the first part of the discourse, as we have it, the question about the signs and the time of Jerusalem's overthrow is blended with a group of sayings some of which probably referred to the manifestation of the Son at the end of the world. Thus by the aid of the higher criticism we cut the knot. All the sayings are attributed to Christ; the confusion and mistake are admitted; but these are attributed to subsequent editors and redactors of our Lord's teaching.

Part II. *The Teaching of Jesus according to the Fourth Gospel.*—It is admitted that "Jesus cannot have had at the same time the style and method of teaching which the synoptics describe and that which the Fourth Gospel reflects" (p. 172). Accordingly we must regard the Gospel as "a distillation of the life and teaching of Jesus in the alembic of the apostle's own mind" (*ibid.*). Nevertheless it bears all the marks of a faithful portrayal of the essence and import of our Lord's words and deeds. The exegetical ingenuity of Wendt and Beyschlag in explaining what appear to be our Lord's references to His pre-existence and divinity in ways that harmonise with the position that He did not teach those doctrines is recognised, but the reasoning of both those writers is rejected. When the doctrine of real pre-existence is to be disproved, Beyschlag treats the language of John in the freest way, and yet when occasion requires, for the establishment of the opposite view, he construes it with the strictest severity.

Part III. *The Primitive Apostolic Teaching.*—Dr Stevens entirely rejects the idea of a division in the early Church, not only in the now discredited extreme form held by Baur, but according to the more moderate views of later critics of the radical school. He holds that there was no polemic on either side between James and Paul. In describing the condition of the primitive community at Jerusalem, he remarks that "there can be no doubt that the idea of our Lord's speedy return to consummate His work operated as a check upon the development of the true doctrine of the kingdom" (p. 262), and the early Christians had no form of organisation, though the apostles were their natural leaders, and Peter their spokesman.

In their Evangelistic work the apostles were called upon to reconcile their preaching of the Messiahship of Jesus with the fact of His crucifixion. In so doing, while appealing to the fact of His resurrection, they also pointed out from Scripture that His death was a part of the Divine plan, and thus laid the foundation of its redemptive significance. Still they made no explicit statements in regard to the latter point. Whilst this preaching was primarily to the Jews, the apostles did not intend that the Gospel should be confined to their own nation. It was offered first (*πρῶτον*) to the Jews (Acts iii. 26), which implies that later on others were to share it. The discussion of the discourses in Acts is followed by a brief account of the Epistle of James. God demands goodness in man, and His requirements are revealed in His law, which for James is the Mosaic law, not conceived after the manner of Rabbinism, but as a spiritual unity, a perfect law because a law fulfilled and perfected by Jesus, and a law of liberty because it is not merely felt as a constraining force from without, but an inspiration from within. But if its contents are transformed and its sanctions dispensed with, what becomes of the law? Can we still call it the Mosaic law? Many readers will hesitate to agree with Dr Stevens' statement that "it is a sufficient explanation of the meagreness of St James's Christology to say that neither the circumstances of his readers nor the purpose of the writer called for any developed doctrine of Christ's person" (page 288). Can we imagine St Paul contenting himself with a similar meagreness in any of his writings? Here we have the chief weakness of this treatise. It does not sufficiently recognise the diversities of view, or the various degrees of development of knowledge in the several New Testament writers. Thus the Epistle of James is followed immediately by 1 Peter in this section which deals with primitive Apostolic teaching. But quite apart from the opinion of Harnack and others that this work was not written by St Peter, and must be ascribed to the Pauline school, it is perfectly certain that, if genuine, it is a late fruit of the

age to which it belongs, and does not represent primitive teaching. If it is written by Peter, the influence of Paul on Peter must be recognised and the work brought into association with Pauline theology. Dr Stevens admits many points of agreement between the two apostles; but he considers that the use of *σάρξ* in a non-ethical sense to denote the material of the body (1 Peter i. 24; iii. 18, 21; iv. 1, 6), and the use of *ψυχή* to denote the higher life (ii. 11) are both un-Pauline. He gives no heed to the many echoes of Pauline epistles. When pointing out the advance of teaching on the death of Christ in comparison with the teachings of the discourses in Acts, he will not allow that this indicates any dependence on Paul, and regards it as a development in Peter's own teaching. The dependence of Jude on Enoch, and of 2 Peter on Jude, is admitted as proved, and the non-genuineness of the latter work granted.

Part IV. *The Theology of Paul.*—Readers of Dr Stevens' excellent work on "The Pauline Theology," will know what to expect in this section. An introductory chapter attributes the conversion of the apostle to a supernatural revelation of Christ to him. While Dr Stevens is willing to admit that some development may have taken place in the apostle's ideas previous to the time at which his extant epistles were written, he refuses to allow of any serious development during the course of those epistles. In this view he directly contradicts Sabatier. He wisely approaches the study of Paulinism from the anthropological standpoint commencing with a masterly discussion of "Flesh and Spirit." Holsten's idea of the influence of Greek dualism upon the mind of Paul in suggesting the doctrine of the inherent sinfulness of the flesh is rejected. The Pauline usage has its roots in the Old Testament, with the result that "*σάρξ* and *ψυχή* are kindred terms, and *σαρκικός* and *ψυχικός* are synonyms in contrast to *πνευματικός*" (page 341). And yet with Paul *σάρξ* is not merely a name for man's creaturely weakness, for with it is naturally associated the notion of positive sinfulness, since it is the seat of passions and impulses which easily give occasion to sinful choices and actions; so that the flesh is a powerful ally of evil, though in itself it is not evil.

Next follows a discussion on "Adam and the Race," dealing especially with the famous phrase, *ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον*. This is not interpreted of individual sin, either subsequent to birth or through the souls of the descendants being in Adam and united to his soul when he sinned; it is taken as an assertion of what we regard as heredity, that is to say, it is through Adam that all sin. His transgression lodged the principle of sin in the life of humanity. Men are not described as guilty for this inherited tendency or vitiation of nature which they derive from their connection with a

sinful race. They belong to a sinful race; but Paul does not teach total depravity.

Passing on to the consideration of the Pauline teaching about the law, we have the position that the apostle held that this was to quicken the consciousness and intensify the power of sin. It increased transgressions by provoking a reaction of sinful desire against itself.

St Paul is acquainted with the fact of the human birth of Christ; but he does not touch the question of the virgin birth, and his statements do not prejudice it either way. The apostle teaches the pre-existence of Christ as the Son of God, and assigns to Him a part in the creation of the world. The phrase, "The first-born of all creation" (*πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, Col. i. 15), cannot be understood as including Christ in the creation, because the apostle immediately adds, "for in him were all things created." In the *locus classicus*, Phil. ii. 5-8, the phrase "to be on an equality with God" is taken as descriptive of our Lord's pre-incarnate state, and the *kenosis* is not the renunciation of Divine attributes, but the giving up of celestial dignity. Paul was the first man so far as we know who grappled boldly with the problem of the relation of the death of Christ to His saving work. This is considered in the four relations: Substitution; redemption; propitiation; reconciliation. The first does not consist in "the substitution of Christ's punishment for our punishment, but the substitution of His sufferings, which were not of the nature of punishment, for our punishment" (page 411). The word *ἱλαστήριον* should be taken as *Sühnemittel*, *Expiatorium*. Christ's sufferings and death effect a reconciliation with God by proclaiming His righteous displeasure towards sin, and removing the obstacle to a favourable treatment of sinful man.

The Pauline idea of justification is regarded as forensic, but it is never to be taken wholly in regard to the past. With the judicial acquittal there goes an effective moral deliverance. "Faith is imputed for righteousness because it sets a man in the way of righteousness" (p. 429). Succeeding chapters treat of "The Holy Spirit," "Social Morality," and "The Church," and the study of St Paul concludes with a chapter on "Eschatology." As time went on the Parousia ceased to be central in the Apostle's thought. Still it is not to be affirmed that he changed his opinion respecting the nature or the nearness of the Second Advent. In regard to the resurrection, Dr Stevens points out that Paul does not speak of the resurrection of bodies, but of the resurrection of persons. While in Acts xxiv. 15 he is described as asserting "a resurrection both of the just and of the unjust," in his own writings he only discusses the resurrection of Christians. Still he does not deny the general resurrection, and Dr Stevens holds that his references to a future judgment

point to it. But surely that depends on what we mean by the word resurrection. The apostle certainly believed in the future existence of godless men, but there is no evidence that he would have called that *life*, or have held that it was brought about through a *resurrection*.

Part V. *The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*.—The contrast between the old covenant and the new that is here set forth is described as drawn not exactly between shadow and substance, but rather between two widely different representations of the substance, suggested by the words "shadow" (σκιά) and "image" (εἰκών). A chapter is devoted to the study of "The Mediator," in which the writer's teaching of the pre-existence and Divinity of Christ is insisted on; and another chapter on "The Highpriesthood of Christ," which shows Christ introducing the ideal religion to which the Mosaic economy pointed. Here stress is laid upon the moral effect of Christ's sacrifice. The writer's favourite words are καθαρίξεν, ἀγιάξεν, τελειῶν.

Part VI. *The Theology of the Apocalypse*.—In treating of this difficult subject Dr Stevens is hampered by not starting out with a definite critical position as to the composition of the book. He distinctly recognises the recent theories concerning its composite nature, but declines to pronounce on them. Yet in his interpretation of the contents he appeals from one part of the book to another in elucidation of its meaning on the assumption of its unity. In the chapter treating of "The Lamb of God" Christ is shown to be a pre-temporal eternal being—"one who is in the proper sense divine" (p. 541). The powers of evil on which judgment is denounced are both Rome and Jerusalem. But the general principle of a conflict running through the ages is recognised.

Part VII. *The Theology of John*.—This is perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book. But having treated of the chief contents of the Johannine writings in connection with the teachings of Christ, Dr Stevens had not so much left to discuss in relation to the apostle himself. He does not attribute the Logos doctrine of the fourth Gospel to the influence of Philo, but traces its genesis from Old Testament teaching especially as that is represented in the Memra.

It will be seen that Dr Stevens is conservative in his conclusions; but he is in no respects obscurantist. He fully recognises the more radical positions, and states the arguments in favour of them with exemplary fairness, preserving the scientific temper throughout, while at the same time writing with an air of serious conviction. The views expressed do not indicate any startling originality, and the author is entirely free from fads and crotchets. Sobriety of judgment characterises the whole work

WALTER F. ADENEY, M.A.

Christian Ethics.

By William L. Davidson, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Aberdeen. London: A. & C. Black. Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 146. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

IN this brief treatise on *Christian Ethics* the Guild Library has received a valuable addition. To discuss so wide a subject within the modest compass of a small text-book is no easy task. But Dr Davidson has performed it with great success, and has produced a very instructive and interesting volume.

He has avoided the two "great pitfalls" referred to in his "Prefatory Note," which threaten those who handle such topics. He has neither "swamped Christian Ethics in Christian Theology, nor separated the two provinces absolutely." He has set before him a clear and definite plan, and has worked into it all the details necessary to the elucidation of his points, without introducing anything superfluous.

The contents of the book are divided into five sections, A, B, C, D, E; A defining the subject, B treating of the Highest Good, C of Character and its Development, D giving some attention to Practical Ethics, and E attempting to explain the Mystery of Evil. Christian Ethics, he tells us, is a branch of ethics in general, and all the usual ethical principles are simply presupposed therein. These it expands and vivifies with the purely Christian virtues of charity, humility, etc., and by the Personality that distinguishes its ideal from all other ideals. Christian Ethics emphasises the worth of the individual and the glory of self sacrifice, exalts the gentler virtues, and has transformed the old conception of Happiness as the Highest Good into one of Blessedness. It has established firmly the inwardness of morality, has introduced, through its principle of love, the doctrine of Universal Brotherhood, and is the only ethical system which can throw any light upon the problem of evil.

The Christian Ideal, says Dr Davidson in one of his best chapters, has power because it is an idea. "The Christian is in the truest sense of all, a man 'possessed,' laid hold of by a grand conception." It has power, because it is an ideal of the most fascinating kind, and above all it has power, because it centres in the living Christ Himself.

The mystery of Evil can hardly be explained, and least of all within the limits of a few pages. Hence the last section will seem the least convincing. Still Dr Davidson is right in his assertion that Christianity throws great light upon it, and the few hints,

never intended to stand as dogmatic assertions, which he has given us concerning the problem, are suggestive.

The book, in short, shows great skill and marked ability, and we hope that the Guild Library may add many more like it to its shelves.

A. D. F. SALMOND.

Dr Briggs' Study of Holy Scripture.

General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture, by C. A. Briggs, D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York City. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. Pp. xxiv. 688. Price, 12s. net.

THIS volume is an entirely new edition of the author's *Biblical Study* published in 1883. The earlier work was the fruit of fourteen years' experience as a teacher of theological students in Biblical Study. For fifteen years he has used it as a text-book, and has gone over the whole subject afresh every year. Now in the twenty-fifth year of his professorate, Professor Briggs utilises his additional studies and experience in what is practically a new work, covering "the whole ground of the study of Holy Scripture." The *Study of Holy Scripture* is twice the size of *Biblical Study*.

It is a little difficult to describe the scope of this important book. Even with reference to 700 large pages, the phrase "covering the whole ground of the study of Holy Scripture" must obviously be understood with many limitations. The book does not attempt to do the work of Driver's *Introduction*, or of a series of commentaries, or of a Bible Dictionary; it practically deals with Theological Encyclopaedia as far as it is concerned with the Bible, and thus might be roughly compared with the Biblical sections of Principal Cave's *Introduction to Theology*. But the various topics are, for the most part, dealt with on a more extensive scale; while the bibliography is slighter, and less conveniently arranged; and the critical position is, of course, different. The leading topics are the Languages, Canon, Text, Versions, Textual and Higher Criticism, Prose, Poetry and Interpretation of the Bible; Biblical History and Theology; the Credibility and Truthfulness of Holy Scripture, and its use as a Means of Grace. Under each section there are references to most of the more important works on the subject dealt with; and there are two full indices, one of Texts, and one of Names and Subjects, including the authors of the various books referred to. Under each heading there are given the chief data, *e.g.* brief accounts of the Semitic

languages, of the versions, etc., etc., a sketch of the history of the previous treatment of the subject by earlier scholars, an account of the present position, and a discussion of the principles involved. It is needless to say that the whole is characterised by exact and full scholarship. The information is as complete and detailed as the scope of the work allowed, but the author's anxiety to direct and stimulate the student is patent on every page; and his enthusiasm often becomes eloquent. For him and for those who are willing to be taught by him, the study of the various branches of biblical science will deepen their spiritual life and increase their religious influence. The general tone of much of the book is argumentative and even hortatory, rather than expository.

In writing of so encyclopaedic a work, only a few points can be noticed out of a multitude which would interest the reader. As to many controversial matters, space compels our author to take for granted his own view, without mentioning, still less discussing, alternatives. He speaks, p. 86, of "the Hebrew Logia of Saint Matthew." It is at least as probable that they were Aramaic. It is an interesting suggestion, p. 69, that "possibly the original Gospel of St John" was "written in Hebrew"; and a reference to some statement of the evidence for such a view would have been useful. Turning to larger questions—in view of the persistent misuse of the term "Higher Criticism" by many who ought to know better, it may be worth while to quote the definition of it, p. 92, "Having secured the best text of the writings, criticism devotes itself to the higher task of considering them as to integrity, authenticity, literary form, and reliability. This is appropriately called *Higher Criticism* . . . because it is higher in its order and in its work than the Lower or Textual Criticism." In discussing the principles of Higher Criticism, Professor Briggs gives interesting examples of its application to detect the mistaken ascription of works to certain dates or authors, *e.g.* the forged records of the Baptist Church of Crowle for 1599-1620, and the ascription of the paradoxes of Herbert Palmer to Lord Bacon.

On the Canon of the Old Testament, we read, pp. 128, 130, "There is little doubt that the Canon of the Palestinian Jews received its latest addition by common consent not later than the time of Judas Maccabeus, and no books of later composition were added afterward; yet the schools of the Pharisees continued the debate with reference to some of these writings until the Assembly of rabbins decided it at Jamnia. The Hellenistic Jews had a wider and freer conception of the Canon. . . . Two assemblies seem to have been held there [at Jamnia]; one about 90 A.D., the other in 118 A.D. At these assemblies . . . the canonicity of the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes was discussed. They were finally decided

to be canonical, and so the third Canon [Hagiographa] of the Old Testament was closed for the Hebrews." As to the New Testament, there was, p. 137, "a difference of opinion . . . which persisted until the Reformation." Professor Briggs accepts the Protestant position on the Canon, and says of it, p. 144, "Unless these books have given us their own testimony that they are divine and therefore canonical, we do not receive them with our hearts. . . . The Canon of Holy Scripture, as defined by the Reformed Symbols [*i.e.* that of the English Bible], may be successfully vindicated on Protestant principles. The Church has not been deceived with regard to it. Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and the Apocalypse will verify themselves in the hearts of those who study them." This is fairly taking the bull by the horns; but many readers would have been glad of some indication of the line of study according to which Esther will verify itself in their hearts more than Tobit or Judith; and the Song of Songs more than the Wisdom of Solomon. Professor Briggs states his position on the Canon thus, pp. 163 ff.: "The principles on which the Canon of Holy Scripture is to be determined are, therefore, these: (1) The testimony of the Church . . .; (2) The Scriptures themselves . . . satisfying the conscience; . . . the æsthetic taste; . . . the reason and the intellect; . . . the religious feelings and deepest needs of mankind . . .; (3) The Spirit of God bears witness by and with the particular writing, or part of writing, in the heart of the believer . . .; (4) The Spirit of God bears witness by and with the several writings in such a manner as to assure the believer in the study of them that they are the several parts of one complete divine revelation, each writing having its own appropriate and indispensable place and importance in the organism of the Canon . . .; (5) The Spirit of God bears witness to the Church as an organised body of such believers, through their free consent in various communities and countries and centuries, to this unity and variety of the Sacred Scriptures as the one complete and perfect Canon of the divine word to the Church."

Our author's judgment on the Revised Version is severe, p. 216: "The New Testament revision was based on the use of all the resources of modern Textual Criticism. The Old Testament revision was based on the currently used Massoretic text, without any attempt to use the resources of the modern Textual Criticism of the Old Testament. It is satisfying neither to the people, who are attached to the common version and see no sufficient reason for abandoning it, nor to scholars, who are displeased with the excessive conservatism and pedantry which characterise it, especially in the Old Testament." But the unsatisfactory character of a revised translation of the Bible is its misfortune rather than its fault; we

cannot afford to ignore the immense service which the Revised Version has rendered to the cause of religion amongst the English-speaking peoples, merely because it is not all that scholars could have wished.

The History of Criticism in this century is exceptionally interesting and important, inasmuch as, in narrating what the pioneers of modern criticism suffered for their zeal for sacred learning, Professor Briggs gives his account of his own experiences. These pages will be a valuable document for the future historian. In his brief reference to Samuel Davidson and Robertson Smith, our author points out that, by its attitude to Professors A. B. Davidson and G. A. Smith, Scotch Presbyterianism has justified Robertson Smith. We may add that, in the volumes published in connection with the Jubilee of Lancashire College in 1893, a similar acknowledgment was made with reference to Dr Samuel Davidson. Principal Fairbairn said on that occasion, "There is a name that this day ought not to be forgotten, the more that its history marks a moment that Lancashire has cause to remember sadly—I mean Samuel Davidson. While Davidson's connection with this College ceased under conditions then deplored by many and now regretted by almost all, we cannot but feel all the more bound to say that we have the utmost admiration for his fidelity to conscience, for the patience and the magnanimity with which, through good report and through bad, he has served the cause of sacred scholarship."

Considerable space is devoted to Hebrew poetry, and to the author's theories of hexameters, etc. But though Professor Briggs speaks of these, p. vii., as "those views of Hebrew Poetry which I have held and taught for the past twenty-five years with increasing confidence," comparatively few will endorse his statement, p. 373, that "Hebrew poetry is measured . . . chiefly by the beats of the accents."

The discussion of the Credibility and Truthfulness of Holy Scripture is not the less interesting because it is not so much a scientific exposition as a review of controversies in which the author has been involved. His conclusion is stated thus, p. 633: "All departments of the study of Holy Scripture lead to the result that there are numerous errors of detail in Holy Scripture, that there are no such things as inerrant documents of any kind; but that the substance of Holy Scripture, the divine teaching as to religion, faith, and morals, is errorless and infallible."

We may note Professor Briggs' views on some details of criticism. Ruth, Jonah, Esther, and Daniel are prose works of the imagination written in the times of the restoration, p. 342. Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii. belongs to the time of the conquests of Alexander the Great, p. 313. Joel is probably later than Zechariah. "There have

been appended to Zechariah, by the editors of the Prophetic Canon, two other predictions—one of the time of Hezekiah, the other of a much later time than Zechariah," p. 311. Of the virgin birth of our Lord, we read, pp. 523, 526, "These reasons [*i.e.* certain objections] must be candidly considered by all those who desire to attain certainty as to the immaculate conception and the virgin birth of our Lord. I think they may all be sincerely met and entirely overcome . . . It does not seem incredible that He, who is immanent, omnipresent, and omnipotent, should concentrate His real presence, for His work on earth as the Messiah, in the womb of a virgin; and there is no violation of physiology or psychology if that concentrated presence should assume the form of the first beginning of a human organism and attach itself for substance and growth to the maternal springs of vital energy." As to the Gospels, Matthew and Luke are alike based on Mark, the Logia of Matthew, and oral tradition; the Gospel of John uses an original memoir of the Apostle John, p. 330.

We shall best close our notice with the author's statement of his purpose in writing this work, a purpose which all will desire may be realised. "I have confidence that I have so stated the case as to give relief and help to the multitudes who have been disturbed and even crowded from Holy Church and Holy Scripture . . . and it is my comfort that I shall lead not a few, by these chapters, as I have by the grace of God through my other writings, back to Holy Scripture and Holy Church, with a firmer faith and a holy joy and love in their exhibition of the grace and glory of our God and Saviour," p. viii.

W. H. BENNETT.

Die Taufe Christi durch Johannes in der dogmatischen Beurteilung der christlichen Theologen der vier ersten Jahrhunderte.

Von Johannes Bornemann, Pastor zu Clenze. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 87. Price, M.2.40.

THIS is one of those treatises on minute points of sacred history and criticism, by means of which German theological students, by their self-denying labours, have done so much for the establishing and elucidating of Christian truth and the Christian revelation. In this little tract the author is content to confine himself to

the question of the dogmatic value given to the baptism of Jesus by John among the theologians of the first four centuries. It took shape originally as an essay which gained the prize offered by the Giessen Theological Faculty in 1880, but it has been thoroughly wrought over in view of an article which traverses the same ground by Professor Usener of Bonn, published in his *Religionsgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen* in 1889.

Usener had maintained that the history of the baptism of Jesus by John was purely legendary, that it had its origin among the Jewish Christians, and that it was intended to represent the moment when the man Jesus became the Son of God ; that it gradually obtained wider acceptance, first of all among the Gnostics who assigned to it a very special theological importance, and that in the orthodox Church it received a place in connection with the Epiphany festival, which again was by and by eclipsed by the prominence given to the festival of Jesus' birth. In opposition to this, Bornemann shows that the history of Christ's baptism is not a later accretion, but one of the oldest parts of the evangelical tradition, which had the highest significance given it in earliest times, and that in the Gentile Churches. He proves these positions in a most satisfactory way, with abundant learning and copious references to early Christian literature. It was part of the Messianic expectation that the Messiah should receive an anointing like the kings and the prophets, and the Synoptists represent Christ's baptism as such a consecration. In the fourth Gospel the descent of the Spirit and all the attendant circumstances of the baptism are represented as serving the purpose of making Christ known to John so that he might be able to point Him out. As to the question of the relation between the history of Christ's baptism and Christian baptism, Bornemann maintains that there may be such a relation, but that it is not of such a kind as would allow the original history of the baptism to be regarded as a type and representation of Christian baptism, or as the institution and establishment of it. There is no hint of this in the Gospels, least of all in the fourth. But the way in which the earliest tradition placed before the history of the baptism that baptismal word of Christ's future baptism of the Spirit makes such a relation possible, so soon as the spiritual baptism of Christ is identified with the act of Christian baptism.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

**Die Christenverfolgungen im Römischen Reiche vom
Standpuncke des Juristen.**

Von Dr Max Conrat (Cohn), Professor des Römischen Rechts an der Universität Amsterdam. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Large 8vo, pp. 79. Price, M.2.

THIS compact little treatise has grown out of a lecture delivered by the author before a learned society in Amsterdam in 1895. For his materials as to particular facts and dates he relies upon the best authorities—Neumann, Le Blant, Mommsen, and Harnack. The writer claims for his work a special place and secures for it a special interest by limiting himself strictly to a study of the persecutions of Christians under the Roman Empire from the jurist's point of view. He therefore carefully distinguishes between those persecutions which arose from popular hatred and the violence of the mob and those which were carried out by means of regular judicial trials. In several sections the writer shows how this treatment of the subject is helpful in determining the extent of the persecutions, in elucidating the particular form of the persecutions, in determining the motive of the persecutions, and the guilt of the accused. Having thus justified the narrowing down of the subject to the juristic standpoint, our author proceeds to the positive fulfilment of his task. He discusses first of all the persecution under Nero. The charge brought against the Christians of being the miscreants who set fire to Rome was in itself trumpery and utterly absurd, and served as an accusation against them in a court of law only because the whole populace was madly and savagely prejudiced against this new sect. The Romans, who tolerated all sorts of strange religions, could not tolerate Christianity because of its other worldliness, and its rejection of and contempt for the good things of this life, which were of highest importance in all grades of pagan society. Not any Roman law, but only the prejudice of the judges led to the condemnation of the Christians. The violence of pagan hate against Christianity was further shown by the persistency with which crimes of the most scandalous and flagitious order were charged against its adherents. Dr Conrat gives an interesting account of the origin of the charge of incest and child murder, Oedipodean practices and Thyestean feasts, which were so persistently brought against the members of the Christian community. It originated probably in misunderstanding or spiteful misrepresentation of the liturgic and mystic exercises engaged in

at the secret assemblies of the Christians held by night. Afterwards fuller knowledge, especially among the cultured classes, awakened at least doubt of its correctness and its subsequent discontinuance, so that even Lucian and Celsus, with all their severity and scurrility, do not venture to bring forward this odious accusation. Criminal processes against the Christians on the ground of apostacy from the religion of Rome and proselytising ended with the beginning of the third century, when all inhabitants of the empire received the privilege and rank of Roman citizenship, so that all religions professed by those dwelling within the limits of the empire were legalised. Most interesting of all are the sections which deal with the charge of *majestas* against the emperor and against the Roman gods (pp. 53-77). The charge now was not that of apostacy, which was no longer an offence, but that of refusal on the part of the worshippers of another god to observe the ceremonies and pay outward respect to the divinity of the emperor and the national gods. Especially in these later pages of the treatise much fresh light is thrown upon the proceedings against the Christians during the second and third centuries.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

Notices.

DR SAMUEL DAVIDSON'S *Autobiography*¹ would have had a much larger number of interested readers had it been published ten or twenty years ago. As it is, it will no doubt be acceptable to a considerable circle. It is the record of a very long life in which nothing very memorable happened, except the one event which brought Dr Davidson's name prominently before the public when he was quite a young man. The agitation which arose within his Church over certain critical opinions which he expressed on the Old Testament, and the change in his career which resulted from his ejection from his Chair in Lancashire Independent College, are things now of a comparatively distant past. The leading actors in these incidents are long gone, and the whole attitude of the Churches to critical questions is so materially changed that the story of these troubles will be read with a somewhat faint interest. It is well told, however, by Mr Allanson Picton, and it is worth looking into it.

¹ The Autobiography and Diary of Samuel Davidson, D.D., LL.D., with a Selection of Letters from English and German Diaries, and an Account of the "Davidson Controversy" of 1857, by J. Allanson Picton, M.A. Edited by his Daughter. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. 8vo, pp. xi. 320. Price, 7s. 6d.

The controversy which he was the means of kindling in his youth was of decisive importance to Dr Samuel Davidson. It not only altered his career, but it fixed his intellectual whereabouts. His doctrinal views had a set given them then from which he never recovered. His critical opinions became practically stereotyped. He began with Ewald in Old Testament matters, and with Baur in New Testament questions. He never got beyond these, and had small sympathy with the critical schools of more recent date. To the end of his long life he kept resolutely by his original position, unable to appreciate anything beyond it, and measuring all new views by the one standard of Ewald and Baur. There was something impressive in this remarkable constancy. But it had its inconveniences. It made Dr Davidson an extremely partial judge of other men's work. He did much in the way of reviewing books, and his hand could never escape discovery. His reviews were always eulogistic of books that went with Ewald and Baur, and always depreciatory of those which did not fall into line with Göttingen and Tübingen. In the last edition of his Introduction to the New Testament he remains as much under the spell of Baur as ever, and as unable to do justice to any other kind of criticism.

As a critic Dr Davidson had obvious defects. His criticism was dogmatic in spirit and lacking in imagination. Where he was strong was in the industry with which he collected facts, the extent of his reading, and the brief, sententious way in which he stated results. His books are useful as a mine of material, and as a clear English presentation of the main positions of two great German schools.

His *Autobiography* discloses the scholar and critic in his peculiar merits and deficiencies. It also shows us the man in the more attractive aspects of his character. It reveals the devoutness of his spirit, his reverence for Christ, the strength of his hope of a future life. Most pleasing of all is the view which it gives us of what he was in his own home. It helps us to understand and admire him as a man of warm, constant domestic affections. Nothing makes us think so much of him as the love with which he cherished the memory of his wife on to his own dying day.

Dr Newman Hall's *Autobiography*¹ is a book that reads pleasantly and easily. It gives a rapid and readable sketch of his childhood, his home, his business relations, his conversion, his call to the ministry, his career in his successive pastorates in Hull, Surrey Chapel, and Christ Church, Westminster, his ministerial connexions

¹ Newman Hall. *An Autobiography*. London, Paris, New York, Melbourne: Cassell & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 391. Price, 12s. 6d.

and interests, his pulpit and evangelistic work, the part which he took in public movements and in the councils of his own Church. It is the story of a busy and useful life,—a life with some great sorrows and heavy burdens, but with many successes and general honour. Dr Hall has been a great traveller and mountaineer, and some of the most lively passages of his book are those which tell of his rambles and excursions among the English lakes and the Swiss Alps, and his more extended journeys in America and the Holy Land. In the course of his long life he has come across many distinguished men and women, and the notices which he gives of Spurgeon, Gladstone, John Bright, Dean Stanley, Lord Shaftesbury, Dean Ramsay, Mrs Charles, William and Mary Howitt, and others, are of considerable interest. At times he goes into particulars which are of small moment, and the opinions which he expresses of some of his friends, such as Edward White, have a tone of exaggeration. But he says much that is worth reading.

The fifth series of the *Chalmers Lectures* appears under the title of *Presbyterianism in the Colonies*.¹ The author is the Rev. R. Gordon Balfour, D.D., New North Free Church, Edinburgh, and, in accordance with the foundation, the Lectures have special reference to the principles and influence of the Free Church of Scotland. The author's loyalty to his own Church, however, does not prevent him from doing justice to other Churches. His book gives the best account we yet possess in a single volume of the rise, progress, and present position of the Presbyterian Church in the British Colonies. It is full of interesting matter, biographical and historical as well as ecclesiastical. The story of the founding of the Church in Canada is first given. It is followed by that of the Australian Church,—in New South Wales, in Victoria, and in the other parts of the Australian Continent. Then we get a remarkably interesting account of the Church in New Zealand and in South Africa. Nor are the smaller settlements in Bermuda, Belize, Trinidad, Gibraltar, Malta, overlooked. The various movements in the direction of union, with the failures and successes that have marked them, are carefully chronicled, and the statistics of each branch of the Church are reported. Dr Balfour has an impressive story to tell, one that has not a few romantic passages, and he has told it in a straightforward and effective style. There is much to be learned from it by all the Churches.

We are glad to have now in a single volume the two very able Primers on *Christian Character* and *Christian Conduct*, which we

Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1899. 8vo, pp. vii. 341. Price, 7s. 6d.

owe to Dr Thomas B. Kilpatrick,¹ formerly minister of Ferryhill Free Church, Aberdeen, and now about to leave us in order to fill a Professor's Chair in Winnipeg. In their original form these small books have deservedly won their way to a large circulation by the clearness and precision of their statements. In the handsome form in which they now appear in this re-issue in one volume they will be welcomed by a still larger number of readers. The book is one that is fitted to be of great use, especially to thoughtful youth.

In *Our Lord's Illustrations*,² the Rev. Robert Resker, Vicar of Purley, Surrey, collects, classifies, and explains the various metaphors, emblems, incidents, etc., which our Lord used in bringing home His Teaching to the minds of his Jewish hearers. They are arranged in different groups, according as they are taken from domestic life, national custom, rural and seaside circumstance, historical event, etc., and are explained in concise and simple terms in connexion with the various passages in which they occur. The idea of the book is an excellent one, and it is carried out in a way that will interest and help both scholar and teacher in Bible Class and Sabbath School work.

Dr Alexander Whyte, of Free St George's, Edinburgh, adds another volume to his well-known and greatly valued Series of Studies of *Bible Characters*.³ This volume takes us from Ahithophel to Nehemiah. It gives us sketches of Mephibosheth, Barzillai, Elijah, Elisha, Jonah, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Esther, Ezra, Sanballat, and others. The types of character which come under review are many and various. The writer's gift appears in the way in which the salient features in each are caught and powerfully set before the eye. The analysis of motive is often penetrating and convincing; the practical application to the sins and faults, the capacities and needs of ordinary men and women never fails. Among the studies that are particularly interesting and impressive we might point to those on Jeroboam, Elijah, and Isaiah. In all the instinct of the man of letters and the insight of the moralist are nobly used for the spiritual purpose of the preacher.

We have pleasure in referring also to *The Ascent of the Soul*,⁴ a series of four brief, devout, and admirably written addresses and meditations by Dr W. Robertson Nicoll, of which the first was

¹ Christian Character. A Study on New Testament Morality. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 269. Price, 2s. 6d.

² Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Pp. 136. Price, 6d.; in cloth, 8d.

³ Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 241. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁴ London : Isbister & Co., 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 63. Price, 1s. net.

given at the Soirée of the Pastors' College, Evangelical Conference, Spurgeon Memorial Hall, the subjects of the others being "The Burning and the Shining," "Lifted up out of the Earth," and "A Breeze from the Eternal Summer"; a small but very tasteful volume by Newell Dwight Hillis, entitled *Foretokens of Immortality*,¹ containing many suggestive thoughts, expressed in telling and attractive terms, on the great question of a Future Life, the foregleams of it which illumine the present life, Christ's relation to it, and the witness of great men to its certainty; an important Lecture by Professor Adolf Harnack, admirably translated by Mr T. Bailey Saunders, entitled *Thoughts on the Present Position of Protestantism*,² reviewing the older forms of Protestantism, dealing trenchantly with the Catholicising movement and its dangers, and pointing out the line of duty for Theologians and for the Church in face of the break with the intellectualism of the old Protestant system; *The Apostles' Creed*,³ an excellent translation of Professor Theodor Zahn's work, part of which appeared in the form of a series of papers in *The Expositor*, but which is given now in its completeness—the most important contribution made to its subject in recent times from the conservative side, of great value both for its elaborate history of the Symbol and for its detailed critical examination and learned defence of its several Articles; *The Kingdom of Heaven Here and Hereafter*,⁴ a study of our Lord's Parables and others of His Sayings on the subject of His Kingdom by Rayner Winterbotham, M.A., LL.B., B.Sc., Canon of St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, a book of marked ability and much originality, which aims at getting beyond all conventional ideas of our Lord's Discourses, and at giving an exposition of them in their exact historical intentions, provoking dissent in not a few things, but certain to rank as an important and suggestive contribution to the interpretation of our Lord's words; *The Ascent Through Christ*,⁵ a notable contribution to the religious thought of the day, by Mr Griffith-Jones, which will take a high place among the many books that grapple with the theological questions raised by the theory of evolution,—a fuller review of which must be deferred till our next issue.

¹ Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 101. Price, 1s.

² London: Adam & Charles Black, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 64. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

³ Translated by C. S. Burn and A. E. Burn, B.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 222. Price, 5s.

⁴ London: Methuen & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 266. Price, 6s.

⁵ *The Ascent Through Christ. A Study of the Doctrine of Redemption, in the light of the Theory of Evolution.* By E. Griffith-Jones, B.A. London: James Bowden, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 469. Price, 7s. 6d.

Mr James Marchant writes a useful little book on *The Theories of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*. Experience gained by work as Evidential Lecturer to the Barking Rural Deaneries and the Christian Evidence Society enables the author to put his arguments well. He has also himself passed under "the black cloud of intellectual doubt," and knows what those in such a position require. He deals briefly and pointedly with the spiritual evidence applicable to the question and the testimony of the Evangelists.¹ He then examines in successive chapters, the Swoon Theory, the Vision and Apparition Theory, and the Theory of Conspiracy. He closes by looking at some theoretical objections of minor influence. The whole is concisely and fairly done. The book is well fitted to be useful to those who do not care to read more elaborate works.

We notice with much pleasure recent additions to the handsome and important publications of the Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, viz., M. Edmond le Blant's *Les Commentaires des Livres Saintes et les Artistes Chrétiens des Premiers Siècles*,² dealing with such subjects as the Ark, Miriam's tambourin, the Cluster of Grapes from Eshcol, Isaac as a type of Christ, etc.; *Artémidore*,³ also by M. Edmond le Blant, an interesting account of the author of the *Oneirocritica*; M. Leopold Delisle's Notes on a manuscript with the title *Summa dictaminis per magistrum Dominicanum Hispanum*⁴ preserved in the Cathedral of Beauvais; and M. Deloche's *Pagi et Vicairies du Limousin aux IX^e, X^e, et XI^e Siècles*.⁵ These publications are admirably printed, and are also furnished with tasteful and instructive plates and maps wherever these are necessary.

We are indebted to the Cambridge University Press for a *Parallel Psalter*,⁶ a most useful volume giving on the same page three English versions of the Psalms.

The Bishop of Worcester dealt with the burning question of the Eucharist in his Primary Visitation Charge. He has reprinted what he said on that occasion under the title of *The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper cleared from certain Misconceptions*.⁷ The teaching

¹ London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. Pp. xi. 123.

² Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1899. 4to, pp. 20. Price, F.1.

³ Librairie Klincksieck, 1899. 4to, pp. 17. Price, F.1.

⁴ Notice sur une "Summa Dictaminis" Jadis conservée à Beauvais. Librairie Klincksieck, 1899. 4to, pp. 37. Price, F.1.70.

⁵ Librairie Klincksieck, 1899. 4to, pp. 68. Price, F.3.50.

⁶ The Book of Psalms, containing the Prayer Book Version, the Authorised Version, and the Revised Version in Parallel Columns, 1899. 8vo, pp. 220. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁷ By John James Stewart Perowne, D.D. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 136.

of Scripture on the subject of the Lord's Supper, the place of the Sacrament in the New Testament, the questions of the Real Presence, the Eastward Position, the Sacrificial Aspect of the Eucharist, etc., are subjected to careful and learned consideration, with a firm hand but in a moderate spirit, and with a large command of the literature of the subject. The book is an earnest vindication of the Reformation doctrine, and of that as the doctrine of the English Church—the doctrine not of the Evangelical party alone but also of Andrewes, Waterland, Philpotts, and other representative High Church divines. The argument is supplemented by a series of useful appendices, which give the views of Waterland and Westcott on John vi., an exposition of Hebrews xiii. 10-16, some telling quotations from Ridley, Hooker, Andrewes, Cosin, Hammond, Philpotts and Chrysostom, and a definition of the doctrines of Transubstantiation, Consubstantiation, and the Real Presence as taught by the Tractarian divines.

*Among the Wild Ngoni*¹ is the title of a volume which gives a modest and most interesting account of missionary work in British Central Africa. It is introduced by a short statement by Lord Overtoun on the history of missions in that part of Africa from Livingstone's time. Mr Elmslie has a wonderful story to tell of difficulty and of triumph, and he tells it well. The book is graphically written, and is full of vivid and impressive passages. It is a book which it does one good to read both as the record of much patient, self-denying service, and as a witness to the power of the Gospel in the dark places of the earth.

The exceptional merits of *Meyer's Commentaries*² are more and more recognised. It is a great testimony to their value, and it speaks well for the discernment of the reading public, that edition continues to succeed edition. Inferior to some Commentaries on particular parts of the New Testament in matters of textual criticism, they are superior to all in a combination of the various qualities that make the best exegesis, and in a rigorous, impartial, scientific method. And they are never allowed to lag behind in

¹ Being some chapters in the history of the Livingstonia Mission in British Central Africa. By W. A. Elmslie, M.B., C.M., F.R.G.S., Medical Missionary. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 319. Price, 3s. 6d.

² Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament begründet von Heinr. Aug. Wilh. Meyer. Das Matthäus-Evangelium, von Dr Bernhard Weiss. 1898. 8vo, pp. vii. 510. Price, M.7. Der Brief des Jacobus, von Dr Willibald Beyschlag. 1898. 8vo, pp. iv. 237. Price, M.3.40. Die Apostelgeschichte, von Dr Hans Hinrich Wendt. 1899. 8vo, pp. 427. Price, M.6. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.

respect of the literature of their subjects. The Commentary on *Matthew*, which has been under the editorial care of Professor Bernard Weiss from its seventh edition, appears now in a ninth edition, carefully revised. The Commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles*, of which Professor H. H. Wendt has had charge since its fifth issue, is now in its eighth edition, and has also been brought carefully up to date. For the Commentary on the *Epistle of James*, Professor W. Beyschlag has been responsible since its fourth edition. It reached last year its sixth edition, and has also had the benefit of painstaking editing. In these later issues there are departures which we cannot but regret from the original Meyer, and we miss at times the strong, firm grasp and perfect sobriety of the master. But there is much also for which our thanks are due, and too much cannot be said of the pains which the editors have taken in working in the results of the best recent literature, especially the home-grown German contributions.

We have received the last part of the seventeenth volume of Holtzmann and Krüger's ever welcome *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,¹ containing the Index to the literature of the year 1897; a small volume of tender, pleasing poems by Arthur R. Shrewsbury, under the title of *The Palm-Branch*,² on such themes as Immortality, Abel's Faith, An Angel Child, etc.; another book by Charles M. Sheldon, *Robert Hardy's Seven Days*,³ a vigorously written story of a dream and its consequences; another section of the contributions of the late Professor J. T. Beck of Tübingen to Old Testament Exegesis,⁴ his exposition of the prophets Nahum and Zephaniah, carefully edited by Messrs H. Gutscher and J. Lindenmeyer—a fair example of Beck's method, careful and informing in linguistic matters, with many good remarks on the religious purpose of the prophetic word, but deficient in the historical spirit; an acute discussion of the question *Ist eine religionslose Morale möglich?*⁵ by Karl Lühr, Pfarrer in Gotha, well written and forcibly put; the eleventh volume of the *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie*,⁶ containing an excellent Bibliography, a series of important papers by Hans Schardt, Elisée Reclus, and valuable communi-

¹ Fünfte Abtheilung. Register. Bearbeitet von L. Plöthner, W. Schott, M. Hadelich. Berlin u. Braunschweig: Schwetschke u. Sohn; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1898. 8vo, pp. 100.

² London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 65.

³ London: The Sunday School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 238. Price, 1s.

⁴ Erklärung der Propheten Nahum und Zephania, nebst einem prophetischen Totalbild der Zukunft. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 168.

⁵ Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn, 1899. 8vo, pp. 61.

⁶ Neuchâtel: Attinger, 1899. 8vo, pp. 321.

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cations on Fetichism, the Cameroon country, etc., by Messrs Beguin, Chapuis, Perregaux Junod, and other missionary agents—an instructive volume; a pamphlet on *Our One Priest on High*¹ by the Rev. N. Dimock, A.M., a supplement to the author's publication on *The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium*—an able statement of the present sacerdotal function of Christ in heaven, going into an exhaustive examination of the important passages in Hebrews viii. 3, ix. 7, and controverting the theory of perpetual sacrifice; a bright, well-written sketch of *Oliver Cromwell, The Hero of Puritan England*,² forming one of the volumes of the *Splendid Lives* series; a fifth edition (with an appendix of additional poems) of George Washington Moon's *Elijah the Prophet and other Sacred Poems*,³ a volume which has had a wide acceptance; *Poems of Love and Home*,⁴ a selection of Poems and Songs, published and unpublished, which the same author, Mr George Washington Moon, has written during the past fifty years, among which will be found some sweet, simple and gracious things such as the stanzas on *Memory, Spring, The Echo, Hidden Griefs, Human Life*; a small volume of persuasive, practical talks on the Christian Endeavour Pledge, entitled "*I Promise*,"⁵ by the Rev. F. B. Meyer, B.A.; a capital story by W. E. Cole, *Sir Constant, Knight of the Great King*,⁶ written in an attractive style, with a good purpose, and enriched by some excellent illustrations by A. Bauerle; *The Common Lot*,⁷ a tale by Adeline Sergeant, which also reads pleasantly and has some useful things to enforce as to what makes happiness; "*Comrades*,"⁸ a good book for youths, consisting of a number of straight talks on "The Makings of a Man," "Temper," and the like, by E. C. Dawson, M.A. (Oxon), Rector of St. Peter's, Edinburgh; a brief, but instructive and interesting account of the life and labours of a devoted Christian worker, *Sophia Cooke, or Forty-Two Years' Work in Singapore*;⁹ a collection of sensible, pointed *Addresses*,¹⁰ by T. J. Madden, Archdeacon of Warrington, dealing with Gambling, Drink, Cyclomania, and other subjects of

¹ London: Elliot Stock, 1899. 8vo, pp. 115. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

² By Horace Groser. London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 139. Price, 1s.

³ London: Longmans, 1899. Small 4to, pp. xxi. 352. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁴ London: Longmans, 1899. Small 4to, pp. xiv. 267. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁵ London: The Sunday School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 76. Price, 1s.

⁶ London: Andrew Melrose. Imp. 16mo, pp. 192. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁷ London: Andrew Melrose. Imp. 16mo, pp. 224. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁸ London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 224. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁹ By E. A. Walker. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 91.

¹⁰ Addresses to all Sorts and Conditions of Men. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 154.

moral interest, but also with some doctrinal questions such as the Unpardonable Sin, Sudden Conversion, etc.; *The Bible and the Prayer Book, Compared and Contrasted*,¹ by William Marshall—a defence of the Protestant Doctrine of the Christian Ministry, the Sacraments, etc., with some strong words also, not always quite just in their criticism, on the Creeds, the English Articles and the declarations of the Prayer Book on *Sin* and on *Worship*; *Helps to Godly Living*,² a selection of passages bearing on the devotional life, from the writings of the present Archbishop of Canterbury,—brief, and well-chosen extracts, often suggestive, always clear and pointed, though lacking in imagination and seldom touching the deeper feelings; two very useful *Bible House Papers*,³ dealing with the wonderful work of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and furnishing a mass of carefully digested matter; *On the Relations between Church and State*⁴—a reprint of an article in the *Christian Remembrancer* for April 1850, by the late Dean Church, which will amply repay a careful perusal at present; two pamphlets by Philip Valpy M. Filleul, M.A. (Oxon.), in strong and earnest protest against the movement in the English Church in the direction of Rome⁵; *What does the Church of England say about the Real Présence and Adoration?*—a reply by Werner H. K. Soames, M.A. Cantab.,⁶ to the Archbishop of Canterbury's Charge (1898), controverting his statements regarding a presence "attached to the elements at the time of consecration and before the reception," and the use of the "external mark of adoration" defined as the act of "kneeling to receive the consecrated elements"; a second edition of the second part of the first volume of the late Professor Wilhelm Moeller's most valuable *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*,⁷ carefully revised by Professor Hans von Schubert of the University of Kiel—a book which every student should possess.

The *Biblical World*, which has reached its thirteenth volume,

¹ London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 120.

² By J. H. Burn, D.D. London: Elliot Stock. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 199. Price, 5s.

³ No. I. In Our Tongues. A Popular Handbook to the Translation Work of the British and Foreign Bible Society. By G. A. King, M.A. No. II. Four Hundred Tongues. By J. Gordon Watt, M.A. London: The British & Foreign Bible Society, 1829. Pp. 32 and 24. Price, 6d. each.

⁴ London: Macmillan, 1899. 8vo, pp. 60. Price, 1s. net.

⁵ Considerations regarding the Bishop of Salisbury's Recent Letter to his Clergy, chiefly on the Subjects of 'Eucharist' and 'Confession.' London: Elliot Stock, 1899. 8vo, pp. 12. Price, 3d. A Sacerdotal Ministry in the Christian Church, Unscriptural, Unprimitive, and High Treason against Christ. Third Thousand. London: Elliot Stock, 1899. 8vo, pp. 32. Price, 4d.

⁶ London: Elliot Stock, 1898. 8vo, pp. 64. Price, 6d. net.

⁷ Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 273-464. Price, M.4.

continues to be conducted with marked ability, and to furnish from month to month an abundance of readable and instructive articles. The opening numbers for the current year are equal to any that have preceded them. A new feature is introduced in the form of a somewhat elaborate Study of *The Purpose and Plan of the Gospel of John*. The papers are by Dr Ernest D. Burton. They are very well done, and have specially in view the International Sunday School Lessons for part of 1899.

The second volume of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, published by the enterprising firm of J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) of Freiburg i. B., and edited by Professor Achelis of Bremen, begins well. The first issue (*erstes und zweites Heft*) contains a number of able articles full of interest to the historian and the theologian, among which we may refer specially to one by H. Zimmern on the ideas of the *bread of life* and *water of life* in Babylonian literature and in the Bible.

The President of the Corpus Christi College, Oxford, publishes in the April number of the *International Journal of Ethics* a Lecture delivered before the Cambridge Ethical Society on the "Ethics of Intellectual Life and Work," in which he expresses the opinion that the "simple desire to get at the truth, irrespectively of all other considerations, merely for the truth's sake, appears to have been a virtue more common in ancient than in modern times." Attention should be directed also to two interesting *Discussions* in the same journal, on "Belief and Will" and "The Will to Believe and the Duty to Doubt," by Messrs Marshall and Caldwell, following up the previous criticism of Dr James's book by Mr Dickinson Miller.

The April number of *Mind* contains several articles of importance. Mr F. H. Bradley contributes some suggestive remarks on Memory and Inference, touching on the Ambiguity of Memory, the difference between Memory, Fancy and Thought, the Veracity of Memory, etc. Mr B. Bosanquet writes on "Social Automatism and the Imitation Theory," discussing a fundamental problem of political philosophy in the light of an analogy drawn from such habits as dressing oneself, walking, reading, writing, etc. There is a good paper also by Mary Whiton Calkins on "Time as related to Causality and to Space." The writer starts by referring to two things which she regards as "fundamental errors" which still "contribute to a radical misunderstanding of the nature of time." These are the insistence of metaphysicians in treating time and space as analogous, so that the characteristics of the one can be attributed to the other; and the persistency with which they have overlooked the "fundamental and far-reaching likeness between Time and Causality." She proceeds then to indicate the

proper relations of Time to Causality and to Space, and the reference of the two to a more ultimate category.

The May number of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, ably edited by the Rev. W. L. Watkinson, contains an appreciative sketch of *Henry Drummond*, by J. Williams Butcher. In the May issue of the *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclesiastique* L. Birot writes on *Catholicism* and *The Life of the Spirit*. In the 8th number of the 8th volume of *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* H. W. Mengedohr continues his transliteration and translation of the "Black Obelisk," Mr St Chad Boscawen writes on the "Chaldean City God"; and Mr J. Kennedy has an article on "The Book of Jonah," the argument of which is to the effect that the book cannot have been composed much after the end of the sixth century, B.C., and on the other hand, that it cannot be the work of Jonah.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April devotes an article to Professor Edwards A. Park, which consists of letters of respect and congratulation from pupils and friends of the veteran theologian in commemoration of his ninetieth anniversary, which took place on December 29, 1898. It is a worthy tribute to a long and honourable career. Among articles of theological interest there is one by Edward I. Bosworth on the *Damascus Vision and Paul's Theology*, an able paper in which the genesis of certain fundamental positions in Paul's theology, especially his views of the law, righteousness, and the purpose of Christ's death are discussed. Among articles of more general interest we find one on the *Christian Conception of Wealth*, by Charles C. Merrill, one on the *Influence of Jesus Christ on Civilisation*, by Newell Dwight Hillis, and another by Daniel Seelye Gregory, on *Caedmon*, the first great English poet.

The April number of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* is full of good matter. Among the review of books, which are always done with great care, we mention specially those of Dr Somerville's Cunningham Lectures, Schwartzkopff's *Prophecies of Jesus Christ*, and Plummer's *Commentary on the Gospel according to St Luke*. Among the articles we notice the continuation of Professor Gerhardus Vos's series on *Recent Criticism of the Early Prophets*. His subject now is *Micah*. He gives a careful statement of the course which criticism has taken with regard to this prophecy, from the second edition of Ewald's *Prophets of the Old Covenant* (1867), which assigned chapters vi. and vii. to the time of Manasseh, and Stade's articles in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1881, 1882), which took from Micah a large part of the book bearing his name, on to the more recent writings of Ryssel (1887), Elhorst (1891), and Nowack. The bulk of the article is then given to a minute examination of the bearing of the disintegration of Micah on the main principles of the critical

hypothesis, and the data which are held to justify it. There is a very instructive paper by Mr D. Hay Fleming on the "Sum of Saving Knowledge." But the article to which many will turn with special interest is the opening one by Professor Warfield on the *Literary History of Calvin's Institutes*. This paper, beginning with a selection of the praises which great scholars and divines of many different schools have bestowed on the *Institutes*, goes into a careful historical statement of the forms which the book received from Calvin's own hands, and the translations which were made of it into most of the languages of Europe. A full account is given of the several English versions, and by bringing certain typical passages together a comparative view is presented of the texts of these versions. With regard to the Reformer's own editions, the chief reasons are stated for holding those in error who have argued for the priority of the French. The first French edition, that of 1541, is pronounced to be a translation by Calvin himself of the second Latin edition of 1539.

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[FIRST NOTICE.]

The Origin of the "Original Hebrew" of Ecclesiasticus.

By D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. London: James Parker & Co., 1899. 4to, pp. 20.

PROFESSOR MARGOLIOUTH in his pamphlet entitled *The Origin of the "Original Hebrew" of Ecclesiasticus* has supplied a certain need. No discovery of any vital interest was ever made without some ingenious person challenging either its importance or its genuineness. A lacuna would have remained in the history of the Ben Sira discoveries had their authenticity been allowed to pass uncontested. Professor Margoliouth is nothing if not ingenious, and is therefore fully qualified for the task of criticism of this sort. Besides he has as he imagines a wrong to avenge. As many readers of the *Critical Review* will probably remember, Professor Margoliouth advanced, some years ago, a theory regarding the reconstruction of the original Hebrew of Ben Sira, which, though declared from the first by the unanimous consent of European scholars to involve impossible Hebrew and bad criticism, received its *coup de grace* through the discoveries mentioned above. It would thus have been almost more than human for the Professor not to make some attempt towards discrediting these discoveries.

Professor Margoliouth's contention is that the "Original Hebrew" is a "translation . . . of a corruption of a Persian translation of a corrupt reading in the Greek" (p. 10), based originally on the Syriac version, then improved by the influence of the translator's new acquaintance with a student knowing the Greek version at first hand and finally emended as to its Hebrew by some pedant to whom a few marginal variants are due. By this process the Professor tries to account both for the many corrupt passages in the Hebrew fragments, which he attributes to the translator's misreadings and misconceptions of the various languages in which he was only a novice, and for the marginal readings, which according to him are sometimes corrections suggested by the Greek and Syriac versions. As, however, it is so complicated, it will be advisable to give his story of the genesis of this translation in the Professor's own words:—

"It was over a bargain then, perhaps at Baghdad, that some Christian quoted Ben-Sira to him—probably the verse which says that a dealer is a knave; and he learned to his astonishment that the proverbs of Ben-Sira, of which he had heard, were preserved in the Christian Scriptures, though lost to the Jews. And fired with the thought that he too might do something for the dear Hebrew

language and the honour of his race, he makes haste to procure a copy, and presently engages a teacher to help him to read it. And talking of languages, as teachers will, his tutor mentions casually that he has a friend who knows a tongue of which they both are ignorant; one who for the love of Christ and His Apostles has learned the language in which their Gospel was composed. And when the Grecian is introduced, he takes some interest in the Ben-Sira project, but regrets (not without ostentation) that the worthy Jew should base his work on the Syriac, when the Greek in his possession is so much fuller and better. And when he has proved this by examples, which he could easily do, the Jew tells him that if he will translate the Greek into Persian, he, the Jew, will reward him well. And presently the materials are all collected; he can read Syriac, and has a complete copy of the Persian; and he collects the Old Testament parallels, and tries to think what the Hebrew can have been" (pp. 19-20).

The Professor has evidently read the *Arabian Nights* to some advantage; but he is not quite happy when he means to be witty, as he probably did when he "excogitated" the occasion to which our fragments owe their existence. For traders and shopkeepers of all sorts have always been so unpopular even in the Rabbinic literature that a Jew would have felt very little surprise at hearing that one more post-Biblical writer has expressed the same sentiment.¹

After airing his old grievance against Driver and Nöldeke who owing to a controversy in which they have been engaged (with him) "had an *interest* in thinking this rubbish genuine," Professor Margoliouth exclaims—"Mrs Lewis by her precious discovery has hit Biblical criticism harder than it ever was hit before or is ever likely to be hit again. For the next time we proceed to parcel out Isaiah, will not our very street-boys call out to us, 'You who misdate by 1300 years a document before you, what do *you* know of the dates of the Prophecies and Psalms?'" I hold no brief for Bible Criticism and frankly confess that for my humble part two Isaiahs are amply sufficient, and that I shall rejoice at any check which Bible Criticism in its latter-day degeneration is likely to receive from new discoveries. But I feel that I have some responsibility for the date—1300 years—which the Professor gives, and which I wish to rectify on this occasion. For it was I who first fixed the eleventh century as the date in which the Lewis-Gibson fragment—the first discovery of Ben Sira—was written; a date that was accepted by Messrs Cowley and Neubauer in their edition

¹ See B.T. Erubin 55^a בתגרנין ולא במחרנין ולא בתמנא (התורה) לא במחרנין ולא בתגרנין and *Mishnah Kiddushin* iv. 14, where the business of the shopkeeper is declared to be a *אומנות לסטים* "the handicraft of robbery."

of the Original Hebrew. Adding the two centuries during which the "Wisdom of Ben Sira" existed before the birth of Jesus, we have 1300 years.¹ This is the date which Professor Margoliouth seized upon and confused with the date of composition. I will, however, remark that my subsequent experience of Genizah fragments has taught me that from a palaeographic point of view there is not the least objection to ascribing the Ben Sira fragments to the tenth or even the ninth century; for the Genizah furnishes us with *dated* documents coming from those periods, which display a much stronger tendency towards cursive as well as other palaeographic features held till now to be the criteria of a later age.

In connexion with this remark we must quote here another passage where the Professor is even more emphatic regarding the date of this composition. "The remarkable man who some centuries ago set himself the task of reconstructing Ecclesiasticus out of a Syriac and a Persian translation, lived after 1000 A.D., for the Persian which he knew was already mixed with Arabic words and phrases to overflowing; but his native language was Arabic, for he uses that for his stop-gap words" (p. 19). We shall have ample opportunity in the course of these notices to see what these "stop-gap" words are. At present we shall deal with the question of the date. Now it so happens that the Gaon Saadyah (892-942) gives in his *Sepher Haggalui*, which he composed about 931, seven quotations from the Hebrew of Ben Sira, six of which are to be found in the later discoveries of this Apocryphon, offering such slight variants as two MSS. written by different scribes are almost bound to show.

We give here the quotations in full; the variants furnished by our fragments are enclosed in square brackets.

<p>Ecclus. v. 5, 6.</p>	<p>{ ואל [אל] סליחה אל תבטח להוסיף עון על עון. ואמרתה רחמיו רבים לרוב עונותי יסלח. כי רחמים ואף עמו ועל רשעים ינוח עון. [רנוז].</p>
<p>Ecclus. v. 6, 7, 8, 13.</p>	<p>{ רבים יהיו אנשי שלומיך גלה [אנשי שלומיך יהיו רבים ובעל] סודך לאחר מני אלף [אחד מאלף]. קנית אוהב במסע [בניסון] קנהו ואל תמהר לבטח עליו. כי יש אוהב כפי עת ולא [ואל] יעמד ביום צרה. משנאיך הברל ומאוהבך הזהר [השמר].</p>

¹ See *Original Hebrew*, etc., p. xii. and my article in the *Expositor* for July 1896, p. 127. On p. 15 I expressed myself in the following words: "Our Fragment therefore comes directly from an MS. containing the whole of Ecclesiasticus in the language in which Sirach wrote it, subject, of course, to changes, corruptions, and mutilations, owing to the carelessness of copyists and other mishaps which every work must experience during a *period of nearly thirteen centuries*."

Ecclus. } כי ברב שיח מנסה אותך [מהרבות שיחו נסיון] וישחק לך
xiii. 11^e. } חקרך.

Ecclus. } אל תאמר מאל נסתרתני ובמרום מי יזכרני.
xvi. 17. } בעם כבוד לא אודע או מי [ומה] נפשי בקצות רוחות.¹

The seventh quotation represents Ben Sira xi. 28, and is not included among the fragments discovered hitherto.² It should however be noticed that Saadyah gives the full name of Ben Sira as ³ שמעון בן ישוע בן אלעזר בן סירא, which agrees with none of the known versions, but occurs in our fragments *three times*.⁴ This is another proof of Saadyah's acquaintance with our text.

Even if these quotations stood alone they would at once abolish the date "after 1000 A.D." (p. 19), categorically assigned to the fragments by Professor Margoliouth, since Saadyah *died* in 942, and certainly could not have quoted, in the manner he does, from a newly-published book. But it is sufficiently clear from another reference of Saadyah to Ben Sira, that he considered his Hebrew text to date from antiquity. Speaking of post-canonical sages who wrote books of instruction and wisdom, he says, "As we find that Simon the son of Jesus, the son of Eleazar, the son of Sira, composed a book of instruction similar to the book of Proverbs in its sections, and in its verses which he provided with vowels and accents" —and proceeds—"In our own time the people of Kairowan composed a book in Hebrew from what was found among them of the Christian Sedi."⁵ The Gaon thus does not allow himself to be deceived by the Hebrew garb of a book. He is perfectly aware that translations are sometimes undertaken, and yet he claims for the text of Ben Sira both that it is an original Hebrew composition and that it has the authority of antiquity. The very fact that he makes these claims definitely proves that the text he had of Ben Sira must have been in circulation among the Jews for many previous generations. There is, moreover, ample evidence that the earlier hymnologists (פייטנים) of the Synagogue, as José b. José and his contemporaries, who flourished early in the eighth if not in the seventh century, knew the original Hebrew of Ben Sira. They not only based their descriptions of the Temple Service on the Day of Atone-

¹ See Dr Harkavy's edition of the ספר הגלוי in his *Studien und Kritiken* v. pp. 142, 176, and 178.

² See Harkavy, *ibid.* p. 178, and Messrs Cowley and Neubauer, *ibid.* p. xxi., No. 20.

³ Harkavy, *ibid.* iii. p. 150.

⁴ 50, 27a, and 51, 32 (2) and 32 (3).

⁵ Harkavy, *ibid.* p. 150. I gave in the text Harkavy's שמואל אצלם. כמה שנמצא אצלם. כן שיערי הנזיר The Arabic original is not quite clear; see Harkavy, *ibid.* pp. 210 and 211.

ment (סדר עבודה) on the *Hymnus Patrum* of Ben Sira, but also used certain phrases and terms which have every appearance of having been taken from our Hebrew text, and in some cases, indeed, are only to be found in this text.¹

The oldest of these descriptions is, as just mentioned, the סדר עבודה, which commences with אביר נבורות.² To the author's acquaintance with Ben Sira the following expressions testify.

השיק עלוקה	Ben Sira xliii. 21.
תמור	" " iii. 14.
וריה מפעליו ברקה	" " xlix. 1.
וחודש חוקו לרורות עולם	" " xlv. 24, 24 ^c .
לור לא יאתה נחלת כבודם	" " " 25 ^c .
בנעימת צדה	" " " 9 ^b .
בעדי בגדי פז	" " " 12, 12 ^c .
עטרת ראשו בהוד המלוכה	" " " 12, 12 ^c .

José b. José's hymn served as a model to the anonymous author of the אתה כוננתה which Saadyah already mentions as dating "from the earlier generations," and in which the following passages betray acquaintance with the contents of Ben Sira.³

מדורת אש . . הסקת	Ben Sira xliii. 21 and 42, 4 gl.
לשביב אשו	" " xlv. 19 ^c .
ציץ עטרת כהונה . . . וינחילנה לבניו	" " xlv. 12, 13.
אחריו	" " " "
תמור חטוי דם	" " iii. 14.
וחך ערב	" " vi. 5.
נהדר בנור המלוכה	" " xlv. 12 ^c .
ועטה בכלי פז	" " xlv. 12, 12, & l. 11 ^a .

Further imitations of Ben Sira and direct borrowing from his panegyric of Simon the High Priest we find in the hymn מראה

¹ See Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 120, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, pp. 26-28. Landshut, *Amude Haabodah*, p. 85 seq. All the *Abodoth* begin with the creation of man, then give a description of the deluge, in which Noah is the remnant, after which they give an account of the patriarchs and God's covenant with them. Then they proceed to the tribe of Levi, the priesthood and the high priest, thus leading over to his performance of the service in the temple, which is the main topic of the day.

² We quote from the *קבץ מעשי ידי נאונים קדמונים* 2nd ed., Rosenberg, Berlin, 1877.

³ About this hymn see Zunz as above, p. 23 and p. 643 seq., and Landshut as above.

בהן, dating perhaps from the next generation, where the following expressions occur:—

מה נהרר	Ben Sira l. 5.
כדמות הקשת בתוך הענן	„ „ „ 7.
ככוכב הנונה	„ „ „ 6.
כשושנת	„ „ „ 8 ^a .
זריחת שמש	„ „ „ 7. ¹

The famous bargain, then, where the Jew cheated and the Christian pelted him with texts from the Apocrypha must have taken place some three centuries before the period in which the Professor places it. But if that be so, how about the Persian, which was “already mixed with Arabic words and phrases to overflowing”?

Having thus disposed of the date the Professor assigns for the composition of our “Original Hebrew,” we shall now proceed to the arguments by which he tries to establish his whole theory.

One of the main arguments paraded by the Professor is that in some cases the versions are more intelligible than the “Original Hebrew.” He draws the conclusion from this that the “Original Hebrew” is a translation from the versions. But this argument is entirely fallacious and could be used, indeed, to prove that the Hebrew Bible is a late compilation based upon the accepted versions. Any reader of the Bible in Hebrew knows only too well how many passages there are that have been from time immemorial the despair of the commentators and have defied all their attempts at elucidation, and yet which read smoothly enough in our versions. Take, for instance, the “Song of Deborah,” or the sixty-eighth psalm, or innumerable passages in Job which are still the subject of controversy by scholars but which do not rouse the slightest suspicion in the man who relies upon his English Bible. A striking example of the fallaciousness of the argument is afforded by the Greek version of Ecclesiasticus, which is notorious for its bad Greek and its many passages which seem to yield no sense, but which are readable enough in the more modern versions based upon it. And I think the fact that the difficulties and the textual corruptions are so much more visible in the Hebrew is an additional proof that it is the original.

¹ See Zunz as above, p. 65, and his *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, 2nd ed., p. 109 in the note. The statement of Messrs Cowley and Neubauer in the preface, p. x., that “Zunz believes that the early liturgist, R. Eleazar haq-Qalir, borrowed from Sirach in his liturgy for the day of Atonement” is inaccurate. The Abodah of קליר was, as it is well-known, long ago lost, whilst Zunz’s reference there is to a work by Rapoport, bearing the title of קליר which, however, contains also remarks on hymns by other authorities.

Another main argument recently advanced by the Professor, and which, according to him, "is by itself sufficient to condemn the whole original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus," is based upon B. Sira, xliv. 21. This runs, "Therefore he established to him with an oath to bless nations in his seed, to cause them to inherit from sea to sea, etc."

The Professor urges this passage is the work of a "Christian interpolator," who "not only alters the text," which should agree with Genesis xxvi. 4, "but makes the Gentiles the people who are to inherit from sea to sea." "The alteration was to suit Galatians iii." But if the Professor will take up the oldest Jewish versions, such as Onkelos and the pseudo-Jonathan Ben Uziel, embodying the traditional interpretations, he will find that they take it in the same sense as Galatians iii. 8, viz., that it is the nations of the world which will be blessed in Israel; or for the sake of Israel, or for the sake of the merits of Israel, the only difference being that the rabbis make *Israel* the source of blessing to the nations, whilst Paul points to *Christ* as the embodiment of ideal Israel. If Professor Margoliouth were to pay more attention to his Bible he would know that Ecclesiasticus xliv. 21, על כן בשבועה והקמתי את, is nothing else but a paraphrase of Genesis xxvi. 3, והקמתי את, transferring the reference from Isaac to Abraham in accordance with Ben Sira's usual methods. The word להנחילם refers, of course, to בורעו, not to נרים.

In connexion with the foregoing, we may remark that the Professor fails to appreciate the force of scriptural parallels with B. S. as well as the use made by him of Biblical words through giving them sometimes a turn of his own.

Thus O.H. xliii. 8° מרצה רקיע מזהירו which should be translated "He (the sun) makes the firmament glow (or shine or illuminate) by his light." The Professor tells us "that since the word מרצה must in any case be interpreted from the Arabic," etc. (p. 6). But we have עונת רצפים (1 Kings xix. 6) and רצפה (Is. vi. 6) which most of ancient and modern commentaries take to be simply a live coal; מרצה is thus a denominative of the noun. Note also Ben Ezra who explains the rather obscure רצוף in Canticles iii. 10 to mean שרוף "burned" (cf. *ibid* viii. 6). The marginal מערץ is of course only a *Verschreibung* of מרצה given from another MS. We may perhaps also dispose here of the marginal משריק (מזהיר) close to the verse just quoted (O.H. xliii. 9). Of this gloss the Professor remarks that it is unknown to the Hebrew, the Rabbinic and the Chaldee Lexica. . . . As an Arabic word it is exceedingly common. . . . For "shining" the word *mushrik* would in that case be thoroughly familiar to him, and though he had no intention of

making a Hebrew word of it, he might well put it on his margin, when he learnt that the true meaning of the words he was rendering was "a shining ornament" and not "his light sparkles" (p. 5, 6). The logic of the Professor that the scribe altered מזהיר into משריק because the Greek suggested וערי instead of ואורו is not quite evident. But what quite speaks against the theory of the Professor is the fact that the word occurs again in the *text* of the O.H. 1. 7 וכשמש משרקת which shows that he did intend it as a Hebrew word, otherwise he would have put as an alternative on the margin מזהרת a word familiar enough to him.

Again, O.H. xliii. 24 יורדי הים יספרו קצוהו "They that go down to the sea tell of his bounds." The Professor contrasts this hemistich with the Greek. "They that sail on the sea tell of the *danger* thereof," and proceeds to say: "It is by no means the case that ordinary travellers have any information to give on this matter; and the least thrilling thing they could tell us about the sea would be its *bounds*. Here, therefore, we have the same phenomenon as before; a correct sentiment in the translation, an absurdity in the 'original'" (p. 8). The Professor in no way tries to account for the mistake in the Hebrew. Probably the improvised Persian does not hold good in this case. But there can be little doubt that Sirach, who in his cosmography draws among others largely on the Scriptures, alluded here to Ps. cvii. 23, יורדי הים באניות, and xix. 5, קצוי ארץ וים רחקים (cf. Ps. lxxv. 6) giving to the later quotation a slight turn of his own to suit it to his purpose. The Greek probably read קצוהו (instead of קצוהו) thinking of קץ in the sense of death (cf. Lam. iv. 18 קצנו).

Again, O.H. xliii. 11° מקום תנור אל יהי אשנב "The place where she lodges shall not be a lattice." The Professor objects to this precept on the ground that "either then the young lady must be in the dark, or she must have nothing to protect her from the public gaze—neither of which precepts is of any use for the Eastern household"; and proceeds to say: "the Syriac precept, 'let her not go out,' is, whether suited to modern ideas or not, very well suited to those of the ancient Greeks and Hebrews. Clearly the author of the 'Original Hebrew' had not the sense of the verb *shebak* quite clear in his mind; he thought it must be connected with the familiar Arabic *shubbāk* 'lattice,' and rendered *lā teshabbkih*, 'the place where she lives thou shalt not adorn it with a lattice.'" I do not intend to discuss with the Professor matters of chivalry, but I may refer him to Judges v. 28 (האשנב) 2 Kings ix. 30; 1 Chr. xv. 29, from which passages it is clear that this staring from the windows was too much indulged in by women; cf. also the Rabb. complaint of woman that she is a סקרנית fond of staring (Gen.

Rabbah c. 18). The word מביט in the second hemistich is of course as much as צופה in Cant. vii. 5 (looking toward) and needs no further doctoring.

Again xlvii. 6° בעטותו צניף נלחם "When he put on a diadem he fought." On this the Professor remarks: "The Greek says of David, 'when he wore the diadem of glory'; the Syriac, 'a little he fought.' The re-translator observes that the Syriac קליל 'little,' is very near in appearance to כליל 'crown'; he can therefore safely put these two half-lines together: 'when he put on a crown he fought'; an inconvenient attire, as a *helmet* would have been so much more to the purpose" (p. 18). I am sorry for David, but B. S. alluded to 2 Sam. xii. 28 and 29 . . ויאסף דוד וילך רבתה וילחם בה . . ויקח את עטרת מלכם מעל ראשו ומשקלה ככר זהב . . ותהי על ראש דוד. The renderings of the versions are as suggested by Professor Levi, due to the confusion of בנכותו with במעט by the Syr. and with בנכותו by the Gr.

Again B. S. xliii. 2 שמש מביע בצרתו חמה gl. מופיע בצאתו. On this Professor Margoliouth remarks: "xliii. 2 (Greek) 'The sun by appearing proclaiming when he cometh forth,' a terse sentence which in itself contains much of the 19th Psalm. His appearance is a sermon; he preaches without using words . . . Hebrew text, 'The sun discharging in his affliction heat' (שמש etc.): the margin suggests, 'shining at his going forth.' (מופיע בצאתו) . . . We first observe that the Greek says the sun *proclaims*, that is gives voice; whereas the Hebrew says he discharges *warmth*. Is there any language within reach in which the ideas of *speech* and *warmth* are likely to be confused? In Persian *sukhn afshāndan* naturally means 'to utter speech,' 'to speak.' But the same words are exceedingly likely to be rendered 'to discharge heat,' if there is anything in the context to suggest it. Between the Persian word for 'speech' (سخن), and the Arabic word for 'heat' (سخن), which a Persian may use if he likes, there is nothing but the context to distinguish" (page 9).

The reference to the 19th Psalm is correct enough, and is also given by Lévi and others. The Professor however fails to make the proper use of the reference. A closer examination of the Psalm will at once enable us to restore the Hebrew, now corrupt, to its original state.

The words of the Psalmist to be considered here are: (Verses 3, 7).
. . . יביע אמר . . . רשמש שם . . . ישיש לרץ . . . מחמתו . . .

Guided here by the principle so apparent from Ecclesiasticus, that B. S. not only borrowed his ideas from the Bible, but very often copied also the words, we shall emend חמה מביע שמש.

Our text *בצרתו* is an evident corruption of *בריצתו*. As to the word *חמה*, it must first be noted that all the commentators miss an object for *διαγγέλλων*, "declaring," in the versions. The Professor thus glides light-heartedly over what is a considerable difficulty. In any case the word *חמה* in the original supplies us with the object missing in the Greek version, and thus shows a decided superiority. Now as to the meaning of this word. It may easily be a simple corruption of *אמר*. But it is also possible that B. S. while punning, as he so often does, upon the word *מחמתו* in the Psalms really means by it *חמה* (wrath), alluding to Malachi iii. 19. *וזהם אותם היום הבא* where the heat of (the sun) is regarded as the means for punishment reserved for the wicked. Some countenance is lent to this by the *מה נורא* in the second hemistich of B. S. corresponding to Malachi iii. 23. *לפני בוא יום ה' הנדול והנורא* (cp. Joel ii. 3; ii. 12). The Greek which read *חמה* considered it a mere pleonasm or gloss of *שמש* left it untranslated.

Prof. M. declares the *בצרתו* "by his affliction" of the text to be a mistranslation of *ὀπτασία*, and refers to the recurrence of the word in B. S. 16^a. He conjectures that the translator in his ignorance of the meaning of *ὀπτασία*, an ignorance which was excusable because the word is *recherché* and rare, derived it from *ὀπτάν* 'to roast,' and rendered 'the sun in roasting utters speech.' This the Hebrew translator could scarcely fail to mistranslate 'the sun being roasted gives forth heat.' But being a man of some taste, he thought this a more accurate description, say, of a leg of mutton, than of the orb of day, and felt that the odour of the kitchen must be at least softened. This was effected by the substitution of "affliction" for "roasting" (page 10).

No detailed criticism of the Professor's explanation is needed. But so far as the gloss on 16^a is concerned it will be seen from the list to be given hereafter that the great majority of the differing readings of the text and the glosses differ only in a single letter or so. We might thus well conjecture from the *הרים* (or *יעתיק*) *ובכוחו יזעים* of the gloss that the text ran *הרים יזיע* *ובכוחו יזיע* (cf. 1 Kings xix. 11, *ורוח מפרק הרים* and B. S. xxxix. 28, Hebrew and Versions). This again was misread by the Greek *וכרואו* and rendered *ὀπτασίας*, with reference probably to Ecclesiasticus xvi. 19.

In passing I would point out, in justice to the scholars whom our Professor reviles in circulars and letters to the press, that they too have recognised the difficulties on which he lays such stress, and have manfully striven to meet them. They have all seen that there are Aramaisms and Arabisms in B. S. Fränkel (in his review, *Monatschrift* xlii.) and Perles (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, xi, 91 f.)

have specially discussed the possibility of some words being corrections from the Syriac version. The latter distinctly says 'da die Handschrift, der die Randlesarten entnommen sind, wahrscheinlich schon selber viele Interpolationen enthielt und überhaupt nur bis 45,9 sich erstreckte, so sind wir in vielen Fällen nicht mehr in der Lage, den Wortlaut des Originals zu ermitteln,' and in proof of this he cites the very word ררבי (xlvi. 20) of which the Professor made such a parade (p. 13); and he adds in a note "es ist also klar, dass hier erst später ררבי für ררובי eingesetzt wurde."

Another argument to which the Professor attaches importance is based upon the quantity of variants, which he considers rather strange in an original work. His words are:—

"Most of the lines have some variant written against them. The import of all of these notes is not clear, but in many cases it is obvious. . . . Many of the remaining variants appear to be suggested improvements in orthography, accuracy and seemliness of expression. On a translator's rough copy such a quantity of marginal notes would naturally be found, and bear evidence of the care, the deliberation, and the hesitation with which he worked. But on the margin of a late copy of a work professing to be original, and handed down as books were handed down before the invention of printing, such a quantity of variants would be astounding (p. 4).

The Professor will be interested to hear that there exists at least one MS. of Ben Sira which has no marginal readings at all and which is designated in the forthcoming edition of B. Sira MS. A. Perhaps I may venture to confide further in the Professor and inform him that MS. B, which is the subject of his contempt, contains, apart from single verses and hemistichs, a whole chapter, which from internal evidence must be a pre-Maccabean composition, but of which not a single trace is to be found in any of the known versions. But to return to the question of the marginal notes.

Now if the Professor would take his Bible and put down on the margin all the *Keris* and *Kethibs* and all the variants of the oriental and occidental schools, he would see at once that original works have also their doubtful places which a good scribe was bound to notice. If, further, he were to collate 2 Samuel xxii., with Psalm xviii., he will find that the differing readings, as recorded by *Massecheth Sopherim*, chap. viii., amount to about eighty. Now if he were to put these in the margin of his Bible he would find at once more cause for surprise there than in Fol. 2 recto of the Oxford MS., where the quantity of variants seemed to him "so astounding." Considering now that Ben Sira is not canonical, and therefore liable to a greater degree to the careless handling of scribes and thus to variants, clerical errors and text corruptions; and considering further that its variants have not had the advantage of being sifted by any

great Massoretic school, we shall rather have need to wonder at the comparative purity of the text.

So far as my experience extends of Hebrew texts that date from antiquity or the early middle ages, there is scarcely a single line anywhere, with the exception of the Bible, which was always jealously guarded by the Synagogue, which does not offer varying readings of more or less importance. Sometimes the amount of variants and interpolations is so great that MSS. originally starting from one source now present texts so widely differing from each other as really to form different works.¹ Now as we have seen the Professor thinks that "the import of most of these notes is not clear." But they are clear enough if we assume that they represent a number of self-corrections made by the scribe and a collection of varying readings scattered over many MSS., good, bad and indifferent—such a collection, indeed, as a conscientious collator would make.

In illustration of this fact we give here a list of some hundred of these *variae lectiones*, contrasting the readings in the text with those on the margin. They are taken from the first four chapters of the original Hebrew and compose about 95 per cent. of the variants offered by these chapters. It will be readily apparent to the student that they are essentially mere *Verschreibungen* arising from similarity of sound or form.

	Text.		Margin.
xxxix. 16.	צורך	—	צרך
" 19.	נסתר	—	מסותר
" 21.	נבחר	—	ינבר
" 24.	[ארח] ית	—	[א] רחותיו
" 25.	וריע	—	רע
" 27.	לרעה	—	לזרא
" 30.	נקמות	—	נוקמת
" "	להחרים	—	להרים
" 30 ^c .	נבראו	—	נבחרו
" 31.	פיו	—	פיהו
" 33.	צורך	—	צרוך
" 34.	ינביר	—	ינבר

¹ See, for instance, the *Variae Lectiones* to the Talmud by Rabbinowicz. Cf. also *Aboth* d' R. Nathan, ed. Schechter, p. 20. Perhaps I may relate here one of my experiences with textual corruptions only some weeks ago. It was a Midrash MS., giving as a quotation from the Bible the words כציון השדה בנבעות, which of course never occurs. Only after much searching in the parallel passages it turned out to be a corruption of כצאת השמש בנבורתו in Judges v. 31.

		Text.		Margin.
xl.	1 ^c .	אם	—	ארץ
"	3.	לשוב	—	לובש
"	4.	עושה	—	עושה
"	5.	מות תחרה	—	מתח וריב
"	10.	ובעבורו	—	ובעבור
"	13.	מחול אל חול	—	חיל מחיל
"	16.	מפני נדעכו	—	לפני נדעכה
"	18.	יין ושכר	—	יותר שכל
"	22.	שרה	—	שרי
"	24.	צדק	—	צדקה
"	28.	מני	—	בני
"	30.	עוז	—	עז
xli.	1.	חיים	—	הוי
"	2.	חקיך	—	חזק
"	2 ^c .	ינקש	—	ונוקש
"	"	בושל	—	מושל
"	4 ^c .	איש	—	אין
"	5.	דבר רעים	—	דבת ערים
"	9 ^b .	לקללה	—	לקללתה
"	10.	מאפס	—	מאונם
"	"	כן	—	בן
"	12.	חכמה	—	חמדה
"	13.	טובת	—	טוב
"	"	ימי מספר	—	מספר ימים
"	14 ^c .	תועלה	—	תעלה
"	15.	מאיש מצפין	—	מאדון
"	14 ^a .	מישפטיו	—	מישפטו
"	19 ^c .	תגור . . זר	—	נניד . . זר
"	20.	משאול	—	משואל
"	21.	מחשב אפי	—	מיהשע פי
xlii.	1.	על	—	כל
"	1 ^e .	על	—	אל
"	5 ^a .	תמהות	—	תמורת
"	5.	ממחיר	—	מוסר
"	7.	תפקד	—	מפקד
"	9.	דאנה	—	ודאנתה
"	11.	סרה	—	סרה
"	11 ^c .	והושבתך	—	והובישתך
"	12.	זכר	—	תזכר
"	"	תסתויד	—	תסתיר

		Text.		Margin.	
xlii.	15 ^c .	לקח	—	לקח	
"	17 ^c .	אימן	—	אומין	
"	"	להחזק	—	להחזיק	
xliii.	2.	מביע בצרתו	—	מופיע בצאתו	
"	4.	מצוק	—	מוצק	
"	"	שולח	—	שלוח	
"	"	ידליק	—	יסיק	
"	4 ^c .	לשאון	—	לשון	
"	5.	גדיל	—	גדול	
"	"	ינצה	—	ינצה	
"	6.	עתות	—	עת עת	— עד עת
"	7.	חמני	—	וממנו	
"	8.	בחדשו	—	כשמו	
"	"	בהשתנותו	—	בתשובתו	
"	8 ^c .	מרצף	—	מערין	
"	10.	ישח	—	ישון	
"	11.	עושה	—	עושה	
"	"	נאדרה	—	נחדרה	
"	12.	בכבודו	—	בכבודו	
"	"	אל	—	לא	
"	13.	ברק	—	בקר	
"	"	זיקות	—	זיקים יקום	
"	14.	למען	—	למענו	
"	17.	זלעפות	—	עלעול	
"	71 ^c .	דרתו	—	רדתו	
"	18.	ינהה	—	יהנה	
"	20.	מקורו	—	מקוה	
"	22.	רטב	—	שרב	
"	23.	מחשבתו	—	משובתו	
"	25.	מעשהו	—	מעשיו	
"	26.	למענו	—	למענהו למען	
"	28.	נגדלה	—	נגלה	
"	30 ^c .	מרומים תחליפו	—	מרומיו החליפו	

S. SCHECHTER.

Wilhelm Gesenius' Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament in Verbindung mit Prof. Albert Socin und Prof. H. Zimmern bearbeitet.

*Von Dr Frants Buhl, Professor an der Universität Kopenhagen.
13te Auflage. Verlag von F. C. W. Vogel: Leipzig; London
and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. M.18.*

THE continued popularity of Gesenius' "Handbook" is seen in the issue of a new edition after less than four years. Sixty-five pages of new material are the result of this interval. The editor and his co-workers are the same as in the twelfth edition, and there are no radical changes in the nature of the work. There is, however, much improvement. The number of illustrative forms given is largely increased with great advantage to the student. The attitude towards the Massoretic text is still conservative. Needless to say, any radical criticism of the text is for the most part, if not altogether ignored, but some suspicious readings have now been marked as such.

The philological notes and etymologies are still retained (as distinct from Siegfried and Stade's *Handwörterbuch*, where they are entirely abandoned). This will continue to cause disagreement among scholars. Illustrations from Arabic words must remain very precarious until there has been a more systematic investigation and classification of the vocabulary of the early Arabian writers. It is strange that חֶבֶה is still referred to the Arabic *hāba*, although Professor Bevan pointed out (in the *Critical Review*, vol. v. p. 130), that *khāba* is the real equivalent of the Syriac *hābh*, and this has been adopted in the Oxford edition of Gesenius.

In fact, this part of the work gives rise to serious questions. There is not a sufficient difference made between generally accepted derivations and those which are more doubtful, *cf.* for example the words חֶרֶר and כֶּרֶר here and in the Oxford lexicon. This may not affect the Semitic scholar, who can control the results by his acquaintance with the other Semitic languages, but is a drawback to the use of the book by the student.

It is noticeable too that among the etymologies given, some are very incomplete, *cf.* to כּוּכַב; some are misleading, *cf.* to כָּבַד where the reference should be to the Arabic *kabadun*, *difficulty*, etc., rather than to the word for *liver*; and such a note as that to the word כָּבֵשׁ is useless.

One of the chief events connected with the study of Hebrew since the publication of the last edition of this dictionary has been the publication of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 15—xlv.

11. This has been used by the editor for illustrative purposes, *where the text is certain* ("aus den gesicherten Teilen"). This reserve seems to exclude the use of words in the margin of the Oxford manuscript. But surely in the case of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα and rare meanings, it would have been worth while noticing these, *e.g.* in the case of זָכַר (Gen. xxx. 20) in a marginal reading to Eccles. xl. 29, and חָסַד in the sense of "reproach" in the margin of xli. 22 (where too the note in Driver's glossary to Ecclesiastes might have been used).

Even the text, where quite certain, has not been fully used, *e.g.* in the Hiph. of זָהַר I "to shine" (Dan. xii. 3), reference should have been made to Eccles. xliii. 8, and under זִקְנוֹת Eccles. xliii. 13 might have been referred to. (There is a misprint under זֶנֶךְ where Sir. xlviii. 12 should be read.)

These remarks are of course founded on the editors' assumption that the new text is the original Hebrew of the work of Jesus ben Sirach. If Professor Margoliouth is right in his conclusions (see his pamphlet: *The Origin of the "Original Hebrew" of Ecclesiasticus*. Oxford, 1899), all the references to this text are useless.

The Aramaic part has been very much enlarged and improved. The constant use of the grammars of Marti and Dalman, and the references to the works of E. Meyer and Krauss have brought it thoroughly up to date, while a more complete list of passages in which words occur, has made it practically a concordance.

G. W. THATCHER.

The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite,

Now first translated into English, from the original Greek. By the Rev. John Parker, M.A. Vol. II. London: James Parker, & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. xx. 168. Price, 3s. net.

THE first English edition of the works of Dionysius, called the Areopagite, is necessarily of interest. Dionysius, notwithstanding Vaughan's half-humorous depreciation of him, was a profound and subtle thinker. His works mark the complete interfusion of ecclesiastical Christianity with Oriental mysticism. And his doctrine exerted a powerful influence upon the religious thought of England, from the twelfth century to the sixteenth.

Mr Parker's attempted identification of Dionysius with the convert of Paul mentioned in Acts xvii. 34 need not detain us. His arguments are familiar enough. They are mainly those which were massed together by the Jesuit fathers in the Antwerp edition of 1634, braced with the conclusions of certain moderns, notably

Mgr. Darboy and Dr C. M. Schneider. But Mr Parker is much less accurate than his authorities.

The subjects discussed in Mr Parker's too-credulous preface are of interest to very few. But the completion of his translation naturally leads one to speak of the impression which the writings of Dionysius left on the life and thought of mediaeval England.

The writings of the "Areopagite" became widely known in Syria, in the first decades of the sixth century. In the Western Church their reception was, as we should expect, more tardy. They were sent by Pope Paul I. to Pepin of France, in 758. A few years later other copies were sent by Adrian I. to Abbot Fuldrat. In 827 (or 824) still another set of the works of Dionysius was received in Paris—this time the gift of the Emperor Michael II. to Louis the Meek. The writings were entrusted to the care of the Abbot of St Denys, Paris. Hilduin, whose pleasure it was to identify Dionysius with the apostle and patron-saint of France, endeavoured, but without success, to translate the precious manuscripts into Latin. About 860 John Scotus, Erigena, who had brought with him to the Palace School of France the ampler learning which then distinguished the monasteries of the Irish Church, accomplished the translation into Latin of all the works of Dionysius. He added original Expositions on *The Celestial Hierarchy*, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and *Mystical Theology*. The translation is bare and difficult, and has been characterized as a rendering of words rather than of thoughts; but the annotations are sometimes singularly acute.

In the tenth century religion in the West seemed to be smitten with mortal langour. Into that deadness the mystic fervour of the succeeding age came like a breath of spring.

Among the sects with which the Middle Ages were thickly sown the new life sometimes displayed a rank, undisciplined growth. Within the Church it was controlled by the concurrent revival of monasticism, and was moulded into conformity with the system of doctrine which had already been impressed upon the souls of men. It was especially given to the canons of St Victor to prune and train into ecclesiastical forms the wild vigour of Middle Age mysticism. In the second half of the twelfth century the Abbey of St Victor was a veritable culture-bed of contemplative theologians. They passed out and spread over Europe, from Italy to Scotland. In England many of the highest ecclesiastical offices were filled by the canons of St Victor, and the writings of their doctors were eagerly read.

The Victorines soon discovered that Dionysius had already essayed the task in which they were engaged. He had endeavoured to compass the reconciliation of mysticism with dogma.

It was inevitable, therefore, that they should seek the aid of one who seemed to speak with apostolic authority, and whose doctrine of a divine *gnosis* had presumably continued in the Church from the first age. Hugh of St Victor wrote a voluminous commentary on *The Celestial Hierarchy*, and succeeded in making Dionysius talk in a fashion which would not misbeseem an Augustinian canon.

About the middle of the twelfth century John of Salisbury, the faithful counsellor of Æ Becket, encouraged Sarrasin to undertake a new translation of the works of Dionysius. In the year 1166, Sarrasin sent to the English ecclesiastic his version of *The Celestial Hierarchy*, and received the following reply:—"I am waiting under your favour for the translation of the rest of the *Hierarchy*. I desire that through your goodness, and to your eternal renown, the blessed Dionysius may become better known to his own people of France. Would that I could sit at your feet, as Mary sat at the feet of Christ—for I am persuaded that Christ dwells in your heart—but the evil temper of the King of England hinders the fulfilment of my desire."

But the introduction of the doctrine of Dionysius into England was mainly due to the great bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253). He translated into Latin, and wrote "interpretations" of all the works of Dionysius; and several of his works, as, for example, his *Theological Common-places* (*Liber Veritatis Theologiæ*) bear unmistakable marks of the influence of the Areopagite. It was enough to secure consideration among Englishmen for the writings of the ancient Syrian mystic, that they had been received from the hand of the good bishop, who, "never from any fear of man had forborne to do any good action which belonged to his office and duty." The diocese of Lincoln was then by far the largest and most populous see in England. To this diocese Wiclif, a century later, belonged. He appeals often, and with the utmost respect to "Lincolniensis." Indeed, in two chief respects Grosseteste was the forerunner of Wiclif; for the unflinching opposition of the faithful prelate to the encroachments on the Church and Commonwealth of England by the Bishop of Rome roused the spirit of the nation, and his lofty zeal for the purity of the Church, the fulfilment of pastoral duty, and the salvation of men almost antedated the Reformation. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Latin rendering of the works of Dionysius was in familiar use in England, both in the version of Erigena and in that of Grosseteste. Grosseteste's "interpretations" were first printed in the Strassburg edition of the works of Dionysius, in 1502.

The foundation thought of Dionysius' mysticism is that God Himself is the ground of the soul. When, in perception, or by

discourse the soul reaches forth towards creature-existence, it turns from God. But when, by an act of "holy introversion," it renounces the creature and sinks into the fathomless abyss of Deity, it finds its true being. Sense and reason grow blind in the uncompounded light of God: to them it is as darkness. Therefore, the strife of intellectual operations is hushed in the quiescence of pure contemplation, and, in "that simplicity of thought which is devoid of all thinking," the soul is restored to oneness with God.

This doctrine is the ground-work of that mystic theory of contemplation which maintained the religious fervour of the Victorines and their followers.

The Victorines reared the ladder of perfection, and, by penitential purification and spiritual enlightenment, climbed the mountain of their transfiguration until they attained to the mystic oneness of the soul with God. Their watchward was, Dialectic is insufficient: it is moreover perilous. The uncorrupted truth of things can be discerned only by the vision of the heart. To know is to believe; to believe is to love. God is truly known only as He is truly loved.

The influence of the Victorines was felt in every part of England, and a great wealth of mystical theology belonging to this period lies in manuscript on the shelves of our English libraries. Many of these tracts were published in the early days of printing: many of them still wait recognition. The MSS., however, which are of special interest to us in this connection are, *Deonise his diuinite* (MSS. Harl. 674; Kk. vi. 26; Dd. xii. 68), a fourteenth century translation of the *Mystical Theology*; and *The Clowde of Unknowyng* (MSS. Harl. 674, 959, 2373; Ff. vi. 41; Ii. vi. 39; Kk. vi. 26; Univ. Coll. Oxf. 14; Bibl. Reg. 17 C. 26; etc.), a treatise of contemplation in 75 chapters, attributed to Walter Hilton and William Exmeuse, and directly inspired by the *Mystical Theology* of Dionysius.

One may select as representative English mystics of the fourteenth century three writers on the life of contemplation, who are all indebted to Dionysius, but in different ways, Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, and Mother Juliana.

About the year 1300 Richard Rolle, afterwards the hermit of Hampole, was born at Thornton, a village in the North Riding of Yorkshire. At the age of 19, being startled into a profound realization of sin and grace, he left Oxford, and addressed himself to a life of solitary communion with God. He was familiar with Bernard and the Victorines, but his master was Buonaventura. Buonaventura was a diligent student of Dionysius, and his writings, especially his *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* take us directly back to the *Mystical Theology*. It is the distinction of Richard of Hampole

that he first translated into English speech and interpreted in English modes of thought the mystical theory of contemplation. He released the life of solitary meditation from the rigour of ecclesiastical rule, and pressed it upon men's consciences, as being not merely the source of individual blessedness, but also the channel of practical benevolence.

Of all the followers of Rolle, Walter Hilton, Canon of Thurgarton, in Nottinghamshire, was the most influential. Thurgarton was an Augustine house of canons regular. It was founded by Ralph de Ayncourt, c. 1130. A Cambridge MS. of the fifteenth century contains the translation of Buonaventura's *Stimulus Amoris*, by "Maister Waltir hilton chanon and gouernoure of the house of Thurgarton biside Newark." Hilton died in 1395-96. As a canon regular, he lacked the spontaneity of the Hermit of Hampole, but his teaching is more systematic. His first counsel of perfection is, "Draw all that thou feelest and intendest within the truth of Holy Church." Hilton, like all the contemplationists of his time, was familiar with the writings of the Victorines, Bernard, and Buonaventura, but he had studied Dionysius for himself. A few sentences from the *Scale of Perfection* will show how deeply he was impressed by the mysticism of the Areopagite.

"The soul has now begun her journey to Jerusalem, the vision of peace. Always humility saith, I am nothing, I have nothing. And love saith, I covet nothing but one, and that is Jesus. And to humility and love the eye answers, I would see just nothing; and the mouth, I would savour just nothing; and the ear, I would hear just nothing; and the heart, I would think just nothing of earthly things nor of bodily deeds, nor would have my affections fastened fleshly to any creature, but only to God and to Godwards. Thus faring forth towards Jerusalem the soul has entered into that secure darkness and *onlyness* which is the passage from the love of the world to the perfect love of God. And verily the darker that this night is, the nearer is the true day of the love of Jesus.

"Then do thou wholly give thyself to the beholding of Jesus. He is within thee. When the soul is so gathered into herself, and separated from beholding of all earthly things, and from the use of her bodily senses that she feeleth herself as she is in her essential being, that is, spiritual and incorporeal, then the soul is but a clean mirror in which thou shouldest see God spiritually. And this *lightsome darkness* and *rich nought* into which the soul has entered may be called purity of spirit, and spiritual rest; inward stillness, and peace of conscience; highness of thought, and oneness of soul; a lively feeling of grace, and retiredness of heart; the watchful sleep of the spouse, and tasting of heavenly savour; burning in love, and shining in light; the gate of contemplation, and reform-

ing in feeling. All these expressions are found in holy writings of divers men, for everyone speaketh of them according to his feeling of grace.

"This inward vision is the beholding of Jesus God: it is the spiritual sight of the Godhead in the Humanity of Christ." (B. ii. P. ii. c. 3; 5; 11.)

The "lightsome darkness" and "rich nought" described above, is just the "cloud of unknowing," the "divine darkness" of Dionysius.

Mother Juliana was born in 1342. She was a recluse of Carrow, and her cell was in the churchyard of St Julian's Church, Norwich. She wrote "XVI Revelations of Divine Love made to a devout servant of our Lord, called Mother Juliana, an anchoress of Norwich." She lived to a great age and commanded a wide influence. Her *Revelations* were written in 1388. Along with many puerilities which this interesting book contains there is much deep mystical thought. Mother Juliana was familiar with the general teaching of "St Dionise of France," and did not spare to make use of it. But she seems to have received it, not so much from the Victorines as from the German mystics. The *Orologium Sapiencie*, a free English translation of Heinrich Seuse's great work, was already a favourite with English devotees, and other German treatises were finding their way across the sea. A sentence like this at once betrays its origin—"Thus is the kind made rightfully oned to the Maker, which is substancial kind unmade, that is, God."

About the year 1493, John Colet, the young rector of Dennington, left England that he might further his studies in France and Italy. In Florence Marsiglio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola were expounding Plato, while Savonarola was crying in the Duomo, "Wake, Christ." Colet was influenced both by the Reformer and by the philosophers. Ficino had translated into Latin the writings of Plato, Plotinus, and Dionysius—"the highest of all Platonists." Colet had read Plato and Plotinus at Oxford: he was now introduced to the teaching of the Areopagite. Shortly after his return to England he wrote two treatises, *De Cœlesti Dionysii Hierarchia*, and *In Ecclesiasticam Divi Dionysii Hierarchiam*. These writings are not so much a commentary on the *Hierarchies* of Dionysius as a very free and occasionally altered paraphrase.

The great Latin system-builders, especially Aquinas, had swept into their church-doctrine the speculations of the Areopagite. But they had qualified his mysticism, corrected his errors, and supplied his defects. Colet followed the theologians in repairing Dionysius' doctrine of sin, and in rendering somewhat less inadequate his doctrine of grace. Dionysius had taught that sin is lack of en-

lightenment: Colet maintained that it is antagonism to light. Dionysius had filled the infinite distance between God and man with endless mediating orders, scarcely leaving room for Christ, and preserving an almost unbroken silence regarding the atoning efficacy of His work: Colet witnessed with the fervour of faith to the power and preciousness of the Redeemer. In Colet's other writings, as in the *De Sacramentis Ecclesie* and *De Compositione Sancti Corporis Christi Mystici*, both of which are based upon the teaching of Dionysius, this divergence is even more strongly marked.

With regard to the essential necessity of the Episcopate, Colet evinces no uncertainty. Dionysius maintained that the government of the Church by bishops belonged to the very framework of nature, and was determined by the constitution of the universe — the heavenly hierarchy bestowing existence and form upon the earthly. The time had not yet come for Churchmen to imagine that anyone, who claimed to represent the Christianity of the Apostolic Age, could reject all mediation by a merely human priesthood, or affirm that the soul's approach to God is immediate and unhindered. Colet, indeed, as we should expect from the commentator of Paul, acknowledges that "in the human priesthood are all those who are consecrated to God in Christ." But he makes no attempt to loosen the strait bands of authority which compelled all men to confess the divine potency and unshaken permanence of the Episcopate.

The chief lesson, however, which Colet derives from the inherent necessity of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to conform to its celestial antitype is that personal holiness is thereby incumbent on every member of the officiating priesthood. The friend of Erasmus knew what need there was of reformation among the religious orders, both regular and secular, and his utterances on that theme are emphatic and penetrating. He denounces the traffic in benefices, the abuse of papal indulgence, the decay of discipline, and the loss of purity. "Unless God shall have mercy upon us," he adds solemnly, "all things will go to ruin."

Colet was made Dean of St Paul's about 1503. Almost immediately after his investiture, William Grocyn began to deliver in St Paul's Church a course of lectures on the *Hierarchies* of Dionysius. Grocyn was the friend both of Colet and of Erasmus, and we are fortunate in having two brief but characteristically vivid descriptions of these lectures from the pen of the Scholar of Rotterdam. He tells us that Grocyn, an Englishman by birth, was a man of most exact and unblemished life, careful in observing the rites of the Church even to the verge of superstition, learned in scholastic theology to the finger tips, naturally possessed of a most keen judgment, and conversant with every kind of intellectual discipline. He began to lecture in St Paul's Church, to a deeply

interested audience, on the *Celestial* and on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. At first he was very indignant with all who denied that the author of these writings was the veritable Dionysius of Mars' Hill, and he especially denounced Laurentius Valla. But when he had lectured for several weeks, and had become familiar with the tone and spirit of his author, he did not hesitate to recant his former opinion, and to assure those very hearers that he did not now believe that the author was the Areopagite.

In his *Annotations on the New Testament* (edit. 1519), Erasmus refers to the arguments of Valla and of Grocyn, and summarises them. Thus, as Fulke says, Erasmus "cracked the credit" of Dionysius.

But, although the reputation of Dionysius as a writer of the Apostolic Age was "cracked" beyond repair, his eminence as one of the ancient rulers of thought has even now not wholly passed away.

DAVID M. M'INTYRE.

Recent Norwegian Thought.

"*Biskop Dr A. Chr. Bang*" af Johannes Brochmann. Christiania: Alb. Cammermeyers Forlag. 8vo. Kr.2.50.

"*Tro og Tænkning*," i.e. *Faith and Thought*. Twelve University Lectures by Dr E. F. B. Horn. Christiania: H. Askehøugs Forlag. 12mo, pp. 156. Kr.3.

"*Verdens Ende*," i.e. *The End of the World*, by Lars Nielsen Dahle. 8vo, pp. 80. Kr.1.50.

"*Profeten Jonas*," i.e. *The Prophet Jonah*, by the same author. Stavanger: L. C. Kiellands Forlag. 12mo, pp. 157. Kr.2.50.

"*Bibelens Krav til vor Tid*," i.e. *The Claim of the Bible on our Age*. Lectures by Chr. A. Bugge, Theol.D. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag. 12mo, pp. 92. Kr.1.75.

NORWEGIAN literature is of comparatively recent growth. Until the beginning of this century Norway had no University of its own, and no centre where independence of thought and interest could find congenial soil and whence its results might be widely disseminated. For higher education and for cultured society a Norwegian had to betake himself to Copenhagen; and if he had any message for his fellows he must write in Danish and publish in Denmark. But with 1814, when Norway was united to Sweden, a new era dawned. There was a unity of action that extorted from Sweden the liberal constitution the country enjoys to-day. There was a freedom of thought that introduced an enlightened educational

system and numerous political and social reforms. There was a development of national life that in a single generation made Norway as independent and united as she had formerly been subservient and oppressed. This independence has had its prophets and apostles, its singers and poets, whose inspiration and influence have made Gamle Norge what she is to-day.

It may be that some of her greatest spirits have had an audience composed only of their fellow-countrymen ; but although few of her poets are well known beyond her shores, the national music to which these singers have in some degree given the impetus, is familiar to us through the strains of Edvard Greig, as it was to a former generation through the strings of Ole Bull. In drama, through Henrik Ibsen ; in fiction, through Björnson and others, the whole world knows what the Norwegians now possess. But in the religious domain Norway has been mainly marking time. The Church is a fossilised Lutheran Erastian institution, conservative to the last degree. At the beginning of this century there was a revival of religion which the Church failed to foster ; but that revival begot the missionary enterprise of which Norway is entitled now to boast ; and when, from another revival half a century later, forms of Free Church life began to emerge, the theological stagnation became disturbed. At first such writings as appeared were more or less polemical, but latterly some really able theologians have been occupying themselves with worthy themes, and not a few have written volumes deserving of a wider circulation than a Norwegian or Scandinavian world can afford. To Germany we have been accustomed to look for Lutheran theology, but in Norway there are several theologians of considerable independence of thought, thinkers well able to assist us in solving knotty problems, authors more deserving of attention and more worthy of study than very many of the Germans whose works are well known in our land. The reason is partly because Norway is a small country and its writers very modest, and partly because so few of our scholars read Norwegian and take means to make such able books as come under their notice known, and to get them reviewed, translated and published. We should be glad if Norwegian publishers would regularly forward their best books for review in this country in order that philosophical and theological readers might become acquainted with their leading writers and with the domains of thought which they have made peculiarly their own. The books upon our table to-day may be taken as a sample of recent theological thought and the four authors as representative men.

1. Brochmann is one of the most thoughtful Norwegian authors, and he has a wide range of subject and interest. His *Haakon*

Athelstan's Foster is a drama on the same subject—the introduction of Christianity to Norway—as Ibsen's *Warriors at Helgeland*, and quite as graphic and informing. His *Third Kingdom* is a powerful exposure of Ibsen's principles and ultimate aims. A play of Björnson's, *Over Ævne*,—i.e. *Ultra Vires*,—was challenged by Brochmann as subversive of Christianity, and his exhaustive critique was so persuasive and convincing that no theatrical manager in Norway dare place the piece upon the stage, although it has been produced in other lands. But perhaps his best known work is *Present Day Pictures of the Norwegian Church*, which we have seen nothing to equal, for grasp of the salient points, characterisation of the leading personalities, and lucid, interesting style. In *Bishop Dr A. Chr. Bang* Brochmann portrays the present Primate of Norway, and introduces us to a charming personality whose life and work have been of great value to the National Church. It is a model biographical sketch; the language choice, the style vigorous and clear, and the presentation of the various incidents excellent. We obtain a capital idea of the character of the man, the scholar, the professor, and the ecclesiastic; and we are shown the influences that combined to make him what he is, and the influence in turn that Bishop Bang has exerted on the Norwegian Church and his native land.

What a varied life the Norwegian Primate's has been! He sprang from the humblest position, fought his way on in spite of manifold difficulties and hindrances, and first came to the fore by writing the Life of Hans Nielsen Hauge, the Norwegian Wesley. It was a daring book for a young priest to write, because Hauge had been persecuted by the leaders of the Church, and his views were most unpopular among bigoted Churchmen. But Bang won sympathy for Hauge from an unwilling host. He brought thereby a healthier life into the Church; he secured approval for some of Hauge's methods; and Norwegian Home Missionary zeal to-day is altogether due to the right appreciation of the humble peasant and his self-sacrificing work. Bang from this beginning took up the study of the Church history of his country and soon became acknowledged as the authority on the subject. He was eventually appointed Professor of Church History at the National University, and became a D.D. when there were only two in the land. Thereafter Bang was selected as Minister of State for the Church, a position for which he was eminently fitted,—perhaps specially because he had ever held himself aloof from party politics,—but one which he could hardly have coveted, considering the unsettled state of affairs in the country and the surety that, when the stop-gap Government was thrown out, he would find the door of the University closed

against him. Two years later the deluge came, and the ex-Minister could obtain no better post than that of curate in Trinity Church, Christiania. But when the sudden death of Bishop Bugge created a vacancy in the ancient and historic Metropolitan See the friends of Dr Bang were in the position to secure his appointment, and he was translated from the curacy to the primacy, from humble service in the National Church to its place of highest influence and power. Many a "Life" has been spoiled by a well-meaning biographer's incompetence; but we lay down Brochmann's book with regret, and only wish it had been longer; it could hardly have been better than it is.

2. It is over two (April 1897) years since a volume from Dr Horn's pen was noticed in the *Critical Review*, and we are pleased to renew acquaintance with him in these lectures. Horn is a veritable dungeon of erudition and a voluminous author equally at home in philosophical and theological subjects ranging from the "Significance of Periodicity in Herbert Spencer," to a handbook for catechumens and a volume of popular sermons.

In *Tro og Tænkning* he endeavours to set forth the relation between faith and thought. Between faith and knowledge he holds there is no clearly defined distinction. When we read, "I *know* that my redeemer liveth," or, "We *know* that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, etc," the knowledge implied is only faith, confident faith. According to Horn the domain of faith is the invisible world, *e.g.*, God, angels, eternal life, spirit, etc. The domain of thought is the world of the senses, *i.e.*, all we see or perceive in any other way; therefore all exact research, even where a language of symbols may be largely employed, as in parts of psychology, ethics or higher mathematics, belongs to the domain of thought. The ordinary man who, with a healthy happy instinct, determines the relation between faith and thought, between the supersensible and the sensible, declares that between them there can be no real conflict. And indeed such conflict as there is is between faith and false thought, or between thought and false faith—and on the border line where the sensible and supersensible meet, as in miracle and Christ, confusion may readily arise.

In the course of the book Dr Horn treats of the components of thought, evolution, life, organism, intuition, soul, personality, spirits, ethics, etc. Every point is well taken; every paragraph is well reasoned; all the illustrations are apt and reveal familiarity with the most varied fields of knowledge. But time after time the difficulty of distinguishing between faith and thought in certain domains is made manifest. Having fully set forth the great principles according to which he deems everything should be judged,

he leaves the reader to apply them and gives an example of how he proceeds.

He takes up prayer. Rationalists, he says, look upon prayer as a paradox, a self-contradiction. For what meaning is there in that I, an ignorant mortal, should in my prayer teach the omniscient God? Theologians of the old school say *Credo quia absurdum*; and cling all the same to prayer. If the question be looked at from the point of view of a mechanical, external relationship between God and man, the paradox is there. But if the relationship is regarded organically everything is changed. I am in God, but God is also in me. He is therefore in my prayer, and the paradox disappears, but not the mystery. For the organic is a riddle I do not solve. And the same holds true of *faith*. From a mechanical point of view faith is perfectly superfluous. For if Christ has paid all our debt what need have we of faith? And yet it is necessary. That is a paradox. But if the relation is regarded organically, the absurd and self-contradictory disappears. But the mystery does not disappear, since the living relation to Christ is itself a riddle. We regret to hear of Dr Horn's decease.

3. When a few years ago Bishop Dahle's *Livet efter Døden* (Life after Death) was noticed in the *Critical Review* (July 1895) and was thereafter translated and published, the book was acknowledged on every hand to be a fresh and valuable contribution to our theological literature. In *Verdens Ende* Dahle deals with a part of the same subject and might even have made this a section of his former book. It considers the end of the world from the point of view of Scripture, science, pagan and popular superstition, and "the calculations." He sets forth very clearly the limits of our knowledge and the reasons why there are mysteries which must remain so until the revelation is complete and God places the key in our hand. Our partial knowledge encourages faith and strengthens hope; as Christ said "These things have I told you that when the time shall come ye may remember that I told you of them."

Discussing the question of the When, which is generally more interesting than the How, he treats in order of the Gospel being first preached to all people, the conversion of the Jews, the great apostasy, Antichrist, the first resurrection, and the millennial kingdom. To us in Britain there is perhaps little that is quite fresh in the book; but it seems that in Norway very wild and insidious notions and errors have been promulgated, and the leaders of missionary enterprise have had so many subscriptions withdrawn "Because the end of all things is at hand" that some such book as this was needed to correct these errors. Dahle makes a strong point that many of the books of so-called Prophecy, dealing with the calculations of times

and seasons, are deliberately deceitful, written merely for the purpose of alarming people and so making money. He shows how such publications destroy reverence for God's Word, and become a stumbling block to many. For every calculation proved by the issue to be erroneous has excited the expectation of some who, when disappointed, lose faith not only in the false prophet but in the true Word of God; whilst scoffers make a mock at Christianity because some deluded souls have been making preparations for the end, which does not come. If this book, so sane and convincing, reaches the hands of those in danger of being thus misled, it is well calculated to restore their faith to proper channels and to give them right views of the things of the end.

4. Dahle's *Prophet Jonah* is a most interesting volume. Its author governs the whole missionary policy of the Norwegian Church; he spent long years, full of experience, in the mission field; the book in considerable part was written in Madagascar;—and it deals with Jonah as the first foreign missionary. We have a vivid account of Jonah's person and age, his task and mission. Some of the sections of the book are conceived in the highest spirit, and give us graphic glimpses of the prophet and his work. Especially is this the case when we see Jonah preaching repentance in Nineveh, and the prophet at the city gate. The chapters on the divine mercy and on Jonah as a type are equally admirable.

Occasionally one realises that distance from authorities, especially recent literature dealing with some of the phases of the history, has made the book less up-to-date than it might have been. In the case of the "whale" we are rather disappointed. Dahle points out that in the Mediterranean there are still fish that could swallow a man alive, but he says of the incident: "On the whole we cannot explain it. But who may say that we are bound to explain it if we will only believe it. The Bible sets it forth as a miracle; and to explain a miracle would be to conceive how it came about naturally and agreed with the ordinary laws of nature. Then it would be no miracle. This miracle is not one whit more inexplicable than the others in the Bible—than the three princes unconsumed in the furnace, or Lazarus coming forth alive, having been four days in the tomb."

The most apt and powerful chapter of all is just the one Dahle is best fitted to write—Jonah as a preacher to the Church interested in missions and to its missionaries—a chapter all too short, but still too long for more than simple indication here.

5. *The Claim of the Bible on our Age* is a most timely volume. We note that the book is published in Denmark. That is partly

because the author is as well known to the Danes as to his fellow-countrymen, and partly because the lectures which comprise the volume were delivered in Copenhagen. Dr Bugge, a cousin of the late Primate of Norway, is one of the clearest thinkers of the Norwegian Church. The national University is very sparing of its degrees, especially of the Divinity Doctorate. There are only six D.D.'s in the country, and Bugge is one of them. If this volume is a fair specimen of his theology and scholarship, his critical acumen and independence of thought, his confidence, courage, and grace of style, we freely acknowledge his title to wear the doctor's hat. His other most important works are a large volume, *The Paradoxes in the Teaching of Jesus Christ*, and a shorter, *The Parables of Jesus Christ*, a valuable contribution towards the solution of the main problems of the parables of our Lord.

In this book Bugge shows that the Old Lutheran doctrine of verbal inspiration does not agree with the Bible, and that it creates more difficulties than it removes. He shows how Christianity is ever changing. In order to be eternal it must be changing. In a world which is subject to the law of development that which is unchanging may no doubt exist, but it has ceased to live. He shows the gradual nature of revelation in scripture, how provisional enactments gradually became of universal application. Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, yet He trespassed the conventional injunctions, *e.g.*, the Sabbath command. Why? Just because He came to fulfil, to show that the principles of the law must be permitted to expand fully. Some injunctions bear on them the stamp of universal truths, *e.g.*, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also so unto them." None of Christ's own words have required to be set aside by reason of the demands of a newer age. Christ only preached principles. Beginning with the absolutely inspired revelation given by the Messiah, Dr Bugge traces the character of the inspiration of Holy Writ, showing how holy men of old wrote as they were moved. But they did not write as if they were shorthand reporters. They were called to do certain work and they did their best with the materials at their disposal. Hence the weaknesses and frailties of their characters, education, environment and age, are all reproduced, and make God's Word in some respects more valuable than it would have been had it come to us written by His own hand or to His immediate dictation.

In the latter portion of the book our author treats of Paul's social programme. Christianity arose as a radical opposition to Judaism as it existed in Christ's day. Christianity was a transition from a religion of law to a religion of liberty. "Where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty." He explains how many progressive ideas have had their best champions among freethinkers, although

the ideas were created both logically and historically by Christianity, and modern Christians had forgotten how the ideas had been burned into history by many a martyr fire. It is the part of true Christians to discern the right and the divine. The social programme of Christianity is far from exhausted. Bugge then takes up and applies to the present day the principles set forth by Paul in his programme, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for all are one in Christ Jesus." Here, he says, we have the contrast between the old and the new. Slavery—the difference between the members of society; woman's position—the difference between the sexes; national pride—the difference between nations. These are the topics round which he gathers thoughts worthy of careful consideration by all Christians, showing how far short we fall of the programme prepared for us nineteen centuries ago.

The provisional, he points out, will always have its place, for it springs from that which is imperfect. The imperfect is a result of sin, and sin we must always fight against. But so long as the principle lives, the development goes forward and the good wins ever greater and greater victories, until the prophecy of the cradle song of Christianity is fulfilled, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men."

JNO. BEVERIDGE.

1. Baptism, its Mode and Subjects.

By Rev. W. J. Lowe, M.A. Londonderry: Nisbet & Co. Pp. 200. Price, .

2. The Calls of God: Devotional Studies.

Rev. Ebenezer Morgan. Chas. H. Kelly. Pp. 348. Price, .

3. A Primer of Free Church History.

By A. Johnson Evans, M.A. H. R. Allenson. Pp. 140. Price, 2s. 6d.

4. Religion.

By Rev. Canon Newbolt. Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. 301. Price, 5s.

1. THIS work consists of eleven lectures. The first four are on the Mode of Baptism; six deal with the subjects of Baptism: the fifth lecture is the transition from the one division to the other. There is an Appendix on βαπτίζω in the Classics and in the LXX and the Apocrypha. The book is amply indexed.

The lectures are published just as they were delivered in the ordinary course of the writer's ministry. That is risky even where necessary slight alterations have been made; in this case certain phrases, quite permissible in oral delivery, have been allowed to stand in printed form when all justification for purely local and transient allusion has been removed. In a brief preface the author explains that the sermons have been published because of many and "representative" requests. It is sometimes best to resist such entreaty.

There is a laborious fulness of detail hardly needing publication to-day. Indeed, the book might have been published any time this last fifty years, so far as timeliness is to be ascribed to it. There is no evidence that the author is aware of any change in the bearings of his problem during that period. The book is not modern; it is strangely antiquated in style as well as in matter. That a treatise on this subject could come from the desk of an English-speaking author and ignore what is the chief element of its interest and importance to-day in Evangelical Christendom seems strange; but that is what appears to us to be the case with this volume.

The author is, of course, entitled to think it necessary to restate the arguments for and against Infant and Adult Baptism, Baptism by sprinkling and by immersion. He is of course better qualified to judge of the necessity for the particular district of the country first reached by the sermons preached and reported. We doubt his judgment in feeling any necessity for such a restatement in the wider range which a volume like this might be thought to reach; although upon such a restatement being required we should impose the condition that it be freshly done and in terms of contemporary life and thought. The first authority cited by our author is Dr Carson, who was ordained in 1798. That is symptomatic of the work as a whole. "May I venture to say for the benefit of any student who may be here, that there is a most scholarly and exhaustive and conclusive discussion of . . . the whole question of the mode of Baptism in an article by Professor Moses Stuart in the *Biblical Repository* for April 1833!" This is spoken less than twelve months ago.

Not that more recent authorities are unmentioned. The names of Godet, Beet, Edwards are to be found; but the reader will find much greater deference paid to a work entitled *Classic Baptism* by Dr J. W. Dale (U.S. of America).

The work suffers from a style or tone which, whether suitable for controversial oratory or not, is certainly unsuitable on the printed page and with a different auditory. There is something lacking in a sentence like the following: "No one

who has even the ordinary instincts of an ordinary student, not to speak of the enlightened instincts of an enlightened student of Holy Scripture, will be guilty of the barbarity of arbitrarily ruling the past out of Court in a case in which the past is directly concerned, and of refusing the light which the past cannot be kept from giving. . . ."

We believe the times require us to go beyond the considerations favouring or conflicting with the Baptist position, and to consider the significance of attitude resulting on either side. It is not to disparage, nor is it to offer delay to, the union among the Churches which is so much in the thoughts and prayers of Christian people at the present time, to recognise where formidable barriers lie, and where passage is safe. A barrier really formidable lies here. We may agree that Baptists are not more faithful to their own view in regard to this sacrament than their fellow-Christians who hold the opposite view, though they attach a significance to it, and are tenacious of its significance beyond their opponents. The significance really amounts to being sacramentarian. A mere remnant of sacramentarianism some may deem it; but it is vital with even the open Baptist, and is an essential factor in any movement towards real unity of the Church of Christ. In regard to this, which we deem the most pressing issue of the problem Mr Lowe has elected to discuss, we should have welcomed any helpful contribution he might have made.

2. This is a volume of sermons. They are plain sermons, spoken to the people. They attempt nothing beyond a forcible application of evangelical religion. They often put familiar truths freshly and impressively. They are earnest, practical addresses to an average English Methodist congregation. All the subjects are personal ones. Adam is the first; Abraham, Moses and others follow to the number of sixteen or seventeen altogether. The precise number depends upon including one sermon different from the rest. It is entitled "Two Disciples," and is founded on Matt. viii. 19-22, and is obviously personal in quite a different way from the rest of the book. This is the only unity in the work.

The treatment varies considerably. As the writer says, some are topical, some are textual. He is freest and most telling in the topical treatment. In exegesis he is safe and sound, never venturing so far as on any original reading of his text.

That is the limitation of the book. It is not original beyond honesty and earnestness. There is no vision. Occasionally a page is lighted up by a touch of imagination or picturesqueness. Illustrative matter is scattered over his pages. Sometimes a quotation is handled with telling effect, but no theme lifts him into the heavens of prophecy and power.

They are devotional studies, and any one desiring a book that will encourage devotional energy without postulating a little hard thinking on the readers' part, might profitably make use of Mr Morgan's volume.

3. English Free Church life does not foster pride of glorious ancestry as the English Established Church is so successful in doing. "Churchman" cannot be pronounced by an Episcopalian without an accent of his glorious heritage. The sense of heritage is sedulously cultivated. Rare is the sermon of that Church where the appeal to her high and glorious ancestry is not conveyed. All this the Free Churches appear to eschew. Only spasmodic reference is made to an ancestry certainly not less glorious and thrilling. With the consequence which is natural that the sense of noble heritage is not general, and the Free Church life in England proportionately impoverished.

It is not uncommon for Free Churchmen to decry the success of this appeal within the Episcopal Church, and to affect superiority to all such adventitious pride of stock. Is not this a fine essence of bigotry, seriously despoiling young Free Churchmen of needed and legitimate spiritual power? Happily signs are not wanting that opinion is setting away from this ecclesiastical prudery. Some of the ablest leaders in the younger generation, alive to the gravity of the situation, are doing all they can to touch the imagination of the Churches with the glory of their descent. The late Dr Berry did splendid but exhausting service in this cause.

It is a heroic and deeply-moving story. When arrayed against a powerful and long-established State Church, it is true the splendid courage and enduring steadfastness of Free Church martyrs may not have appeared to their own contemporaries virtues destined to grateful and reverent admiration; but when regarded by posterity in their true place in the advancing Kingdom of God, they stand out as burning and shining lights, lighting the way of the Church of God.

"The author looks forward," Mr Johnson Evans tells us, "to the advent of a sound history of the Free Churches as a whole, written by a scholar imbued with the modern historical spirit, yet enthusiastic enough to present to the world the inner meaning of British Nonconformity."

This is Mr Evans' own description of the need to-day, and is evidence that he has insight into the true condition of Free Church life at the present time. It would have been a real pleasure to have been able to speak in appreciative terms of the way in which he has sought to meet the situation. But we miss much. Complete success is perhaps more than could be expected of the pioneer;

but it would be excessive to say more than that he has rightly diagnosed the case, and his own failure lends emphasis to the conditions of success. That he is himself partly conscious of this is apparent, when he says, "This method of writing"—avoiding *ex parte* statements—"deprives the reader of some of that glow which comes from the perusal of books that are more partisan, but the loss is surely compensated by the increased historical sense," &c.

Yes, indeed ; but, to our regret, the historical sense is not present to compensate ; and there is no glowing page from board to board. It is a lame, halting book. Historical accuracy may be made good in particular sections of the work, but we have no doubt what must be the verdict upon the author who, even in a primer, can write history to this tune—

"The influx of Scotsmen into England has given rise to another body"—in the present day—"the Presbyterian Church of England, consisting partly, specially in the North of England, of old Presbyterian Churches, dating from the seventeenth century, and partly of new churches formed mainly to meet the requirements of young Scotsmen migrating southwards. It is in communion with the Free Church of Scotland" (p. 123). What do native-trained English Presbyterians think of that ? What does Dr John Watson think of it ?

4. Messrs Longmans are issuing, under the editorial care of Revs. Canon Newbolt and F. E. Brightman, a series of works on practical theology. The aim of the series is to translate the solid theological learning of the schools into the vernacular of every-day practical religion. The name given to the series is the Oxford Library—a name not without significance as to the general attitude of the contributors. Canon Knox Little and Bishop Wall of Vermont, are among the early contributors. It is a project to be welcomed heartily on the part of all the churches in England. Discussion will of course be due whenever the scientific spirit is sacrificed for denominational interests or limitations. Whatever will make the general Christian public better informed theologically and more disposed to independent reflection will be a substantial gain to the religious life of England. How great the disparity in regard to theological knowledge between educated people in England and in Scotland !

The present volume is the first of the series. Canon Newbolt has set an unfortunate example. This is not theology. It is talk somewhat discursive, very diffuse. He writes not as a student but rather as a partisan. He might have translated the relative data of Theology ; he might have given spirited paraphrases making them burs on the conscience : and, in either case, he might have

added denominational finger-posts for the guidance of his special audience. That would have been a real stimulus to thought, and a substantial increase to popular knowledge. But we suspect the editors do not indeed contemplate giving any considerable authority to reason, their wish being indeed rather to buttress the authority of the Church so far as theology can be pressed into that service. The subject is mapped out as follows—we give our own description not the author's table: Religion must be dogmatic. Life must approximate belief and the ideal is high. Expression is given to religion in worship and character. Divine help is provided in atonement and in the Church. The author accepts as definition of his subject "Religion is essentially a relation towards a person," and then proceeds to fill out the definition in accordance with his own ecclesiastical belief.

"Men talk sometimes as if a Church could be constituted simply by Christians coming together and uniting themselves into one body for the purpose. Men speak as if Christians came first and the Church after; as if the origin of the Church was in the wills of individual Christians who composed it. But, on the contrary, throughout the teaching of the apostles we see that it is the Church that comes first and the members of it afterwards" (p. 231).

" 'Video meliora proboque
Deteriora sequor' "

floated mournfully in the breeze over the wreckage of life, as a melancholy tribute to the power of irresistible heredity. And knowing this, He instituted at the very forefront of this scheme"—*sc.* Dogmatic Religion—"the sacrament of baptism. . . . Baptism is the initial force which is brought to bear on a soul by nature born in sin" (p. 66).

There is some vigorous and even striking writing in the book. One such passage we had marked on p. 208. The series, we trust, will improve with the later volumes, for there is no doubt in our mind of the service possible on such a plan.

Religion in Greek Literature: a sketch in outline. The Gifford Lectures, St Andrews, 1894, 1895.

*By Lewis Campbell, M.A., LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Greek in the
University of St Andrews. London, New York, and Bombay:
Longmans Green & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 423. Price, 15s.*

THE Gifford Lectures already published are of many sorts and various degrees of merit. Professor Campbell's contribution is quite out of the line of anything we have yet got in the series. His

subject is a fascinating one and one with which the author is pre-eminently fitted to deal. The result is a charming volume, which will be enjoyed by a much wider circle of readers than are the usual Gifford Lectures. For the man of average culture is interested in anything concerning the wonderful people of Greece and knows a fair amount about their history, and from him these chapters, written as they are in a more or less popular style, and without too obvious a display of erudition, will receive a cordial welcome. The book, it need hardly be said, is the fruit of ripe scholarship and is notable for breadth of view, and intelligent sympathy with the Hellenic spirit. But while all this is so, one lays down the volume with a feeling akin to disappointment. It is not as great a book as we had looked for. Perhaps we expected too much, but some of its faults could easily have been corrected. Without making it less readable—indeed with the opposite effect—the author might have greatly increased the value of the work by giving in many places more illustrative quotations, and all through the volume accurate references should have been rigidly given. If the demands of space are pleaded in excuse, the answer is that there might have been more condensation in other parts, such as in the historical and political surveys. But as a matter of fact the subject was worthy of a bigger volume. Perhaps the limitations of size are also accountable for the fact that the earlier authors seem to be treated with more thoroughness than the later. So far as the direct subject of the volume is concerned, Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar are discussed with a fulness out of all proportion to that given to the dramatists and Plato. Then, again, the argument is not always arranged in the clearest way possible, and indeed at the end of most of the chapters the author tries to bring together for his readers the broken threads by means of summaries, which should have been quite unnecessary. But it must be admitted that difficulties abound, and Professor Campbell has moved through these with a conspicuous degree of sound judgment. This is perhaps the great excellence of the book: Professor Campbell is not led away by any particular school of theorists, but considers every problem with an independent and well-balanced mind. One can only wish that he may see his way to recast and extend this "sketch in outline" and so give us some future day a really great work on "the contribution of Hellas to the spiritual inheritance of humanity."

It is to be noted that it is the most advanced thought of each period, the attitude of the great literary geniuses of Greece towards spiritual things, that is the subject of Professor Campbell's study. Folklore, the religion of the common people, the fascinating subject of origins, concern him little. Mythology and ritual are introduced only with the view of showing how they "reacted on the higher

minds of Hellas as reflected in classical Greek literature." He disclaims any intention of entering into competition with such books as Mr Farnell's "Cults of the Greek States" and Mr Fraser's "Pausanias." If, however, he often seems to overstep this rigid limitation of himself, no one will grudge him the space, for there is always much wisdom in his remarks. His first fifty pages are devoted to speculations about pre-historic religion, the state of pre-Homeric Hellas, the traces of primitive worships, and on all such subjects he has something interesting to say. He reminds us of the essential sameness of human nature, and cautions us not too readily to "connect developments on Grecian soil with similar appearances in Babylonia, Phygia or Egypt." He lays great stress on the due recognition of the guiding principle of the "contamination of worships," *i.e.* the influence exercised by the religion of the conquered on that of the conquering people. A good example is the case of the Dodonæan Zeus, where the old deity was retained with many of his old attributes, but was consecrated afresh by the conquerors and imbued with a new spirit.

In historic times two factors are noted by Professor Campbell as having an enormous influence in the development of Greek religious thought, and as contributing much both to the value and to the interest of the study. The first of these is the earnestness of the Greek himself. The Greek is often but quite erroneously pictured merely as a lover of the beauty and the happiness of life. But his, in fact, was an intensely religious spirit, with vague mystical yearnings, surging beneath the outward serenity. "The Greeks made life beautiful, not because they were self-pleasers but because they believed in Gods who cared for human perfection." The other potent factor was the liberty of thought enjoyed by the Greek. "From first to last Greece was the home of spiritual freedom." Although religious and secular history are nowhere more closely bound together, no priesthood ever dominated Hellas, and worship never became merely a stereotyped tradition.

It is impossible to do more here than indicate the main steps in the ascent from Homer's childish fancies to the colossal heights of Plato's contemplations. With all his inconsistencies, due to the non-reflective character of his age and mind, Homer is considerably advanced in his theology and ethics. He is at heart fully conscious that 'all men have need of the Gods.' But the Gods are regarded in two aspects, at one time as vague omnipotence, and at another only as magnified human personalities, often swayed by caprice and passion. Zeus may have very human quarrels with Hera, but he is also the supreme deity. "His supremacy, sometimes hardly distinguishable from destiny, is the most definite theological conception in the *Iliad*." His righteousness, however, is not so clear. Again

the great ideas of Destiny, Fate, Nemesis are taking shape. His moral code, when compared with modern standards, is simple and deficient, and the ethical vocabulary is very meagre; but the *Iliad* is full of "a morality of feeling which in many ways anticipates the most refined ethical determinations." In some points the *Odyssey* shows an advance on the *Iliad*: for instance justice and self-control in a man are more admired and Olympus, the dwelling-place of the Gods, is a more abstract conception. Professor Campbell notes two strange omissions in Homer. In the Homeric pantheon which he describes in detail, there is no mention of Demeter and Dionysus, whose worships were so influential in Attic times, and again there is little or no trace of hero-worship. These cults must have been established long before Homer's time, and Professor Campbell suggests very plausible explanations for their absence. Homer's audience of proud warriors, whom he sang to please, cared little for the simple village celebrations of Demeter and Dionysus, and, again, as Homer was depicting the very heroes themselves in the full vigour of their life, artistic demands prevented any allusion to their subsequent worship.

Hesiod is a complete contrast: his manner is subjective and didactic, and his environment one of gloom. But he exhibits an even deeper consciousness of man's dependence on superhuman agencies. The idea of justice is firmer but the gods are not yet free from caprice. A distinct step is indicated in the attempt, however childish, to construct a detailed theogony. "The question has occurred to the mind of the age, How did the gods come to be? and this was a first step towards universal speculation about nature and its cause or author."

After a survey of the great political and intellectual development in Greater Hellas during the 7th and 6th centuries, when law was gradually coming to the front in civic life, and philosophy was born to be a growing menace to mythology, Professor Campbell gives a chapter on Pindar and Herodotus. A significant fact is the growing use of general terms for the divine agent. Even in the *Odyssey* *θεός* is used sometimes without any very particular reference, and in Pindar the generalised use is more frequent. Herodotus goes still further: he is the first to use such abstract terms as *τὸ θεῖον* or *τὸ δαιμόνιον*, a distinct step, as Professor Campbell holds, towards a worthier conception of divine action. But the divine government is still far from being a righteous government. Man's success in itself is sufficient to provoke the envy and wrath of the gods. It is in Aeschylus first that we get the deeper thought that, not success, but the insolent pride that springs from success is the cause of God's anger and man's overthrow. Pindar's great glory, of course, is his grand conception of a blessed immortality. Hades

in Homer is a cheerless place of strengthless shades: even in Aeschylus the dead are not spoken of as blessed. But Pindar sings in noble strains of a judge in the under world from whose sentence there is no reprieve, and of a life reserved for the good, exempt from care and toil, cheered ever by the sun and enriched by communion with the gods.

After the repulse of the Medes, interest centres in Athens. Some interesting chapters on the effect of the Persian war on Greece, Attic worship and festivals, and the Mysteries prepare the way for a consideration of the great Athenians. The importance of Orphism and its relation to Pythagoreanism are carefully discussed, and its distinctly elevating influence is insisted on. The belief in immortality and the idea of personal holiness are its two great contributions to religion. This brings us to the birth of Tragedy and the mighty figure of Aeschylus. Prof. Campbell's treatment of the great tragedians is hardly satisfactory: from him one had looked for a much more detailed study. The bones of a good Essay are here, and that is all that can be said. Aeschylus and Sophocles still clung devoutly to the old faith, though struggling earnestly with the great problems involved from somewhat different points of view. In Aeschylus, the more original, with his profound conviction of the divine righteousness, we get a higher note than occurs in any of his predecessors. Amidst all the seeming contradictions of life he displays a sublime confidence in the ultimate victory of good over evil. Man is in great measure the maker of his destiny. Again his picture of Zeus, the supreme deity, seems almost inspired. The supremacy of the eternal laws of holiness and purity, the breach of which involved inevitable calamity, is Sophocles' theme. The conception of the state after death has now undergone a radical change. In Homer the body in the tomb is the man and only a shade flits underground, but in Sophocles it is the person himself, retaining all his affections and relationships, that passes beneath. But now at last Athens was becoming permeated with the philosophic questionings that had arisen earlier in Magna Graecia and Sicily, where Xenophanes had rejected anthropomorphism, and Heraclitus had derided bloody sacrifice. Though these thinkers were no mere scoffers but in reality deeply religious men, the effect of their teaching was to undermine the old faith and give the common people nothing in its place. In the orators who reflect the common mind, a note of insincerity is to be detected on all sides in their references to the old religion. Euripides is a sceptic but his scepticism may be taken too seriously, for it must be remembered that the stage had now become a place of amusement rather than instruction, and Euripides thus felt the tyranny of the audience in a way unknown to his predecessors.

Here and there in his plays occur flashes of clear insight and deep faith which may be accepted as his truest thoughts. It was into the midst of this atmosphere of unrest and doubt, charged with immense intellectual energy, that Socrates came with his religious vocation and new method of inquiry. The chapters on the great teacher and on his still greater pupil are well done, and illustrative quotations are freely made from Plato's dialogues in regard to the great doctrine of immortality. As Prof. Campbell says, "What is peculiar to Plato is not the assertion of a life of the soul after death, but rather the identification of soul with mind. This places the idea of immortality on a new footing. For on the condition of the soul in its relation to truth and righteousness depends her state of blessedness now and hereafter." The moral nature of God is conceived by Plato as absolutely good and true: envy and falsehood are alien to Him and He can be the author of no evil. He is perfect and unchangeable and omnipotent. "Such views of the divine nature are far in advance of any earlier theology; indeed, it may be questioned if much that has been called theology in later times might not bear to be revised by Plato's rules."

We have now reached the summit of Greek thought, and with a few remarks on Aristotle and subsequent developments this interesting book comes to a close, leaving only a regret, as was said at first, that it is not longer and more complete. Readers will agree with Prof. Campbell that a study of this nature helps to invigorate and even to purify traditional Christianity.

J. L. SALMOND.

Christliche Ethik.

Von Julius Köstlin, Dr Theol., jur., et phil. Professor und Oberconsistorialrat in Halle. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther und Reichard; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii. 699. Price, 10s.

FEW men can have adventured the production of a standard work on Christian Ethics with ampler qualifications than Professor Julius Köstlin, of the University of Halle. He is best known, indeed, by his *Life of Luther* and his work on *Luther's Theology*; but apart from the indirect preparation necessitated by writing such treatises as *Der Glaube, sein Wesen, Grund und Gegenstand, seine Bedeutung für Erkennen, Leben und Kirche* (Faith, its Nature, Ground, and Object, its Significance for Knowledge, Life, and Church), 1859, of which *Der Glaube, und seine Bedeutung für Erkenntniss, Leben und Kirche*, published in 1895, is a thorough re-cast; *Die Begründung unsrer sittlich-religiösen Ueberzeugung*

(The Basis of our Ethico-religious Convictions), 1893; and *Religion und Reich Gottes* (Religion and the Kingdom of God), 1894, he has regularly lectured on the subject since 1862, and at intervals published dissertations on such kindred themes as "The Moral Law," "Religion and Morality," "Right, the State and the Church," "The Problems of Ethics and the most recent Discussions thereof."

The interests both of author and reader will, I think, be best consulted if I first of all indicate the line of treatment followed in Professor Köstlin's work, by a brief summary of the table of contents.

An introductory chapter describes the scope of the inquiry, defines the relation of Ethics to Dogmatics, and of *Christian* to Philosophical Ethics, besides touching on other preliminary points. What follows is divided into two great parts, of which the *First* is devoted to The Presuppositions and Bases of the Christian-moral Life, to wit, The Moral Capabilities (Conscience, Will, the Moral vocation in general); Sin; The Saving Revelation of God, in the Old and New Testaments. The *Second* great part consists of *two main divisions*, the *first* of which, A, is headed, "*The Christian Moral Life as the Life of the Inner Man in Fellowship with God*," and embraces two sections, *one* devoted to "The Initiation of the New Life by Conversion and the New Birth," in the course of which the Relation between Penitence and Faith, Enlightenment and Awakening, is discussed; a *second* to "The Further Inner Life of the Converted Man," in the course of which are discussed, (1) Essential nature and character of the New Life (Faith, Love, Hope); (2) The temporal course of the New Life (New Sins and New Penitence); (3) Acts of inner self-collection which appertain to the New Life (Prayer, Asceticism, Vows); (4) Ethical Good in the New Life regarded from the points of view of Virtue, Law and Duty, The supreme Good (The Kingdom of God and Eternal Life). The *second main division*, B, headed "*The Christian-moral Life as Life in this World*," is sub-divided into four *sections*, the *first* of which gives a "General View of the Life"; the *second* treats of "The Life as that solely of the Individual," under the following heads: (1) Self-maintenance (Suicide); (2) The Chief Sides of Human Nature (Body, Soul, Spirit); (3) Moral duties to one's own body and soul; (4) Moral duties to one's *natural* and personal environment; (5) Relaxation and Pleasure; (6) Relation to God in one's World-life. The *third section* treats of "Social Life and the Conduct of Persons towards each other," under the heads, (1) Respect and Love; (2) Truthfulness; (3) Love of one's neighbour as regards his inner life; (4) Social Life in relation to Property; (5) Social Life in relation to Vocation; (6) External Social Organi-

zation (Law, Punishment, etc.); (7) The Individual as related to himself in Society (Self-defence, Duelling); (8) Relation to God in Society (Oaths). The *fourth section* treats of the four chief forms of social relationship under the following heads: (1) The Family (Marriage, Divorce); (2) Nationality (Friendship, Acquaintance, Social Intercourse, Clubs, Customs, Fashions); (3) The State (Functions, Constitution, Authority, International Relations, War, Patriotism); (4) The Church (Nature, Specific Functions, Organization, Relation to the State, Divisions).

The use of the work is greatly facilitated by a complete Table of Contents, and very full Indices both of subjects and passages of Scripture more or less fully explained.

Professor Köstlin's treatment of ethical questions is, with slight exceptions, characterised by insight, breadth, and judiciousness. Such difficult subjects as counsels of perfection in distinction from positive duties or commands; of *Adiaphora* or supposed matters of indifference; of recreation and pleasure; of necessities and luxuries; of poverty and wealth; of duels; of gambling; of lies, which seem or are unavoidable—are touched with mingled delicacy and firmness. His style and method cannot be said to be brilliant; his readers will not be carried on rapidly, and for the moment fancy that they have got the solutions of all sorts of problems in their hands; but they will be made to think, and they will be brought face to face with principles which they can apply for themselves. Some probably will think the author heavy and roundabout; his heaviness, however, is rather weight, and his seeming roundaboutness is the result of a constant effort to look at the points in hand from all sides—to do justice to everyone of them.

Occasion for criticism will be chiefly found in the Introduction, in the First Main Division, and in the first part of the Second Main Division.

The Introduction bristles with problems both formal and material—*e.g.* The relation of Ethics to Dogmatics, of Christian to Philosophical Ethics; the distinction between Ethics and theories of Art; the contrast between Roman Catholicism and the Evangelical Church as to Ethics; the Sources and Norms of Ethics. But no attempt is made at an adequate discussion of any one of them.

The question to which the author gives most space is that of the relation between Philosophical and Christian Ethics, though, owing partly to the critical and hypothetical mode of touching it, one is left in doubt as to his own view. He makes no attempt to deal in a general way with Roman Catholic ethics as distinguished from that of the Evangelical Church, though this is just a point on which the reasoned judgment of one who is so steeped in the spirit of the

Reformation and so judicial-minded would have been of special value. He does enter on the subject in connection with various details in the course of his work ; but one would have welcomed a discussion of the general principles of the two systems.

In dealing with the vexed question of the relation of Christian to Philosophical Ethics—to a brief notice of which I must restrict what I have further to say—he starts with an inquiry into the sources whence we derive ethical truths. With regard to these, he says: "The present treatise on Christian Ethics, produced as it is by a member of the Evangelical or Protestant Church, is controlled by the conviction that in this Church and its Confession of Faith and Doctrines, the fundamental principles of a Christian-ethical life and of the divine will relating thereto, as well as the fundamental truths of the faith relating to God Himself, to His revelation of love and His saving work, are correctly grasped and truly apprehended." At the same time, though the author would thus seem to be pledged to accommodate his exposition to the deliverances of this Church, it must not be forgotten, he remarks, that for light on ethical principles this Church itself points him to the divine revelation given through our Lord and Saviour Christ, and to the Holy Scriptures in which that revelation has been deposited ; nay more, it requires him to test its own teachings by those of Christ and Scripture.

Still further, as an Evangelical Christian, he is not merely permitted but bound to hold that ethical truth consists not of commands which have to be blindly obeyed, but of such as commend themselves intrinsically to the human heart and conscience—commands which man pronounces right even when they conflict with his inclinations. In other words, the true Christian is aided by the Holy Spirit working within him, clearly and certainly to recognise as verily true not only the truths of Christianity generally, but Christian ethical truth in particular.

At the same time, that which we thus owe to revelation and which finds an echo in our innermost being, may and should be made the object of a specifically intellectual examination ; its inner connections and relations should be investigated ; efforts should be put forth to understand it.

If the Christian Ethicist owes ethical truth to these sources—*i.e.* to the Church, to Revelation, to intuition, and to the scientific reason ; if they furnish him with the norms by which conduct is to be judged and the proofs with which he has to work, whence is the Philosophical Ethicist to derive them ?

It is held by some that Philosophical Ethics draws its principles, tasks, ideals, etc., purely from the nature and constitution of man by the means of purely rational processes. Reason itself, it is said,

prescribes the laws for the activity of the human will on nature and for the ordering of the relations of men to each other.

But at this point the question is legitimately raised, What are we to understand by *reason*? Of what nature are the intellectual activities which are designed to be summed up in the term? Is a thinking meant of the Hegelian kind which proceeds *à priori*, which develops and builds up its content out of itself? Or one that rests on intuitions, feelings, immediate sense, and therefore makes no pretence of logical proof? Or is it one which tries to arrive at general truths and supreme principles from sensuous experience, and recognises only material realities as truly real? Besides, the philosophical thought of the present day is by no means agreed as to the nature of man, as to that which is of the highest value to him, and as to how this highest is to be secured its proper place in the life of individuals and societies.

Equally diverse are the ethical systems which philosophical or would-be philosophical thinkers have developed from the premises alluded to.

Besides, the Christian may fairly urge that, even though the business of evolving the ethical principles interwoven with the original nature of man and the cosmos were assigned to philosophy, a systematic presentation of ethical principles in the modified form given to them by the redemptive revelation of God, in other words, as modified by sin, would still be necessary.

The author indicates—and only *indicates*—what seems to be his own view of the relation between Christian and Philosophical Ethics in the following hypothetical form. If the fundamental questions of knowledge and the real principles of the entire material and spiritual spheres in their relation to each other, are considered with all the exactitude that befits philosophy; and if further equally careful efforts are put forth under the constant guidance of logical law to understand the specific nature of the ethical as revealed in our own inner experiences and in the facts of human history, will the thinker not be driven to confess the necessity of a higher, illuminating, redeeming activity of God and the actuality of the Christian redemptive revelation, that too without at all surrendering his claim to the honour of proceeding philosophically? Will he not have to allow that the moral light which is presupposed and sought in the constitution and essential nature of man, shines nowhere beyond the limits of Christendom? But if these things are true, what becomes of the assumed antithesis between the two forms of Ethics? Is not Philosophical Ethics, in that case, identical with Christian Ethics? And will not its differentia consist solely in the attempt made to link ethical truth on to the general principles of thought and being?

I am not quite sure that I rightly grasp the author's exceedingly general and highly compressed hints and suggestions, but they seem, if not to point towards, at all events to find a legitimate interpretation and unification, in some such position as the one of which the following are the chief features. If so, I venture to express my regret that Professor Köstlin should have judged it beyond his province to sketch in outline the main features of the view that hovered before his mind. He would have done something to make clear and narrow an issue of no slight importance, not only theoretical but practical.

The real source of the difference between Philosophical and Christian Ethics will prove to be a difference of general view of the world (*Weltanschauung*).¹

Ethics after all is the science of man's relations so far as they are under his conscious free control, in other words, his properly personal relations. But personal relations like all other relations, presuppose a system of beings related to each other. As the beings so the relations; as the personal beings so the personal or ethical relations.

If the system to which man belongs is self-contained and complete without God, then an Ethics which deals with man solely as related to nature and to his fellowmen is the only possible, the only true Ethics; and if the method pursued in the construction of such a system, that is, if the method by which the ethical relations of man are ascertained and concatenated is scientific or philosophical a system of Philosophical Ethics will be the outcome. Any other system of Ethics would be undeserving of the name.

But if the system to which man belongs embraces the living God; and if man is constituted for personal relations between God and himself; clearly an Ethics that takes no note of such relations and the consequences thereof for men's conduct towards each other, must be essentially defective, and to that extent, whatever its method, it would be scientific only in a superficial sense: if universality is an essential note of philosophy, it certainly would not be philosophical.

On this view of the constitution of the world, clearly Revelation, as a contribution of the divine factor towards the knowledge of ethical truth, would be as natural and normal as the contribution supplied by the human factor in and through its history. Whether that history be supposed to be a process of evolution or not could make no real difference.

The assumed antithesis between Philosophical Ethics and Christian Ethics, grounded, as Professor Schultz seems to think,

¹ As is in fact allowed by H. Schultz in his *Grundriss der evangelischen Ethik*, 2. Aufl. 1897, though strangely enough he fails to draw the logical consequences of his concession.

in the fact of the latter appealing to Revelation or religious dogma, thus falls to the ground.

The only real difficulty arises in connection with the question of sin. Sin has introduced the problem not only of prohibited personal, *i.e.* freely and consciously chosen conduct, but also of personal, *i.e.* freely and consciously chosen conduct, which, though relatively to *sinless* man, or to man according to his true idea, abnormal, relatively to man that has sinned is normal. I refer to the duties of self-reproach, self-humiliation, confession of and sorrow for the conduct—in short, repentance and others of a kindred nature, which devolve on wrongdoers. These cannot be regarded as *duties* for a *normal* man; yet when a man has behaved abnormally they are duties, and therefore in a sense normal.

But if philosophy is bound to reckon with all actualities, whatever their nature, clearly it must reckon with the evil moral state of the human factors of the system, either in connection with Ethics or separately; and the relations devolving on such factors would naturally have to be considered by the philosophical ethicist.

Or shall the abnormal-normal ethical relations or duties be relegated to a separate science? Whether this is Professor Köstlin's view or not, I am unable to say, but for myself I see no reason why, unless philosophy is under the necessity of restricting itself to the ideal, whether actual or not, and is precluded from the attempt to give an account of the abnormally actual, philosophical ethics should not consider the conduct which becomes obligatory when personal beings have originated relations, opposed both to their own true nature and to that of the system of which they are members. But this is not the place to pursue the subject further.

The subjects of man's moral endowments and sin, embraced in the first great division, are treated, though of course very briefly, with the hand of a master. The same remark may be made regarding the account given of the initiation of the true life in abnormal man.

I would conclude with the expression of my sense of the sound judgment, breadth of view and sympathy, and true Christian insight which characterise this ripe fruit of the author's experience and thought.

D. W. SIMON.

Die Ethik des Judenthums

By Professor Dr M. Lazarus. Frankfort a. Main: Kauffmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 469.

SCIENTIFIC ethics, like modern philosophy, began with a period of general scepticism. The doubt as to the reality of knowledge led to the search for the criterion of truth; the doubt as to the content of morality necessitated the formulation of ethical principles. But the content of Jewish morality was largely embodied in a divinely revealed code. It was never exposed to any such sceptical doubt, and no attempt was made to reduce it to an harmonious whole or to examine its first principles. The Jewish mind, moreover, has but little natural inclination to systematization. These considerations explain somewhat the remarkable contrast presented by Jewish morality and Greek ethics. In the one, the wealth of moral thought is discounted by its chaotic form; in the other, the real poverty of content is largely compensated for by its association with a definite ethical theory. Professor Lazarus is convinced that the chaos in Jewish morality is only apparent and superficial. Beneath it, there is a real objective continuity which has only to be recognised and described. It is precisely in Jewish morality that least is owing to the creations of individual minds; these have served merely as vehicles of expression for the objective development. Though the foundation of the moral law is in the Bible, and its full development is in the Rabbinical literature, yet there is no breach of continuity.

In the attempt to give formal expression to this real unity, the author is fully conscious of the necessity to guard against the introduction of foreign system and conceptions. He proposes to do so by the careful study of the sources. But he emphasises one postulate as all important. It is not sufficient to translate the word of the Bible and Talmud into modern speech,—the thought must be recast into the forms of modern thought. The difficulties awaiting the author are obviously great. Form and content are not independent. It is impossible to avoid the introduction of irrelevant associations in the change of form, and the danger of subjective exegesis is extreme.

The debt all scholars owe to Professor Lazarus for his bold and original attempt is a very real one. The work is not free from general imperfections. The too pronounced Kantian element, and the neglect of the great medieval moralists are the gravest. Yet the author has admirably succeeded in emphasising an aspect of Jewish thought which is too frequently ignored. A representation

of the work is aimed at here which will convey a just idea of its character and contents, and no criticism is advanced that seemed avoidable.¹

The first part of the book opens with an enumeration of the sources of moral thought. These are the Bible, the tradition, history, poetry, communal institutions, and the general, though not clearly articulated, moral feeling of the people. The living and creative force of the tradition is evidenced by its creation of a new ideal of life after the destruction of the Temple. The Law and its study replace the state as a bond of union. The determination and fixation of the Law, the development of religious and ceremonial observance provided a unifying principle for the social and individual life. The wholly ethical and peculiarly Jewish conception of the spiritual unity of the race by relation to an ideal received a new emphasis.² Jewish history contributes two new phenomena of profoundest moral significance: the warrior in defence of faith and the martyr. The complete fulfilment of life was looked for in its resignation to the ideal.³ Jewish poetry, essentially lyrical and didactic, sought in the world of experience the realisation of ethical ideals. In the popular legend and Hagadah of later days, epic and dramatic tendencies make themselves felt, and the heroes of the race are pictured as epitomising *in concreto* the whole moral law. Social institutions evidence most clearly the character of dominant moral thought. Their large variety proves not only its strength but also its degree of refinement.

The author's analysis of the ethical conceptions realised in such an institution as the "Mishan Abelim" of Berlin is of great interest. But one conclusion drawn is certainly not valid. The charity guards itself carefully against an obtrusiveness which might embarrass the recipients. The author interprets this as a condemnation of pathological motives in morality (40). But the distinction is clear. The author himself shows at the end of chapter vi. that the harsh Kantian condemnation of feeling is not accepted in Judaism.

Above all else, the vast labour expended on the maintenance of schools proves the all-absorbing devotion to the ideal. Wide-spread education makes the general conscience, unimpaired as it has remained by philosophical scepticism or theories of subjectivity, an important source of moral thought. History strengthened the reciprocal responsibility of the society and the individual and their intimate connection. These fundamental moral conceptions were clearly recognised and maintained.

The second chapter, dealing with the principles of Jewish

¹ The reader should note pages 155 (§151), 235, 254, 376, 378, 390, 402.

² Aboth ii. 9.

³ B'rachoth 61 b (R. Akiba).

morality, is one of the most important. Hartmann affirms that Theism destroys the autonomous character of moral law by introducing an heteronomous fiat. The author maintains that morality would lose its autonomy only if its imperative were dependent upon the Divine fiat. If the imperative, however, is based upon the essential worth of morality itself, then the co-operation of religious motives in moral action does not in any way impair the moral character of the action.¹ The reference to God in whom the moral ideal is realised does not ground morality; it encourages moral action. But religious motives are pathological, and the author's position is valid only if he departs from the rigorous formalism of Kant. The author demonstrates conclusively the internal imperative of morality. It is recognised as prior to Divine revelation, for Abraham observed the whole law.² With reference to certain laws, mainly moral in character, it is declared that if they had not been ordained, they 'ought' to have been ordained.³

The categorical nature of the moral imperative is somewhat strangely illustrated by the author.⁴ He finds a reference to it in the emphatic unconditional declaration in connection with the return of lost property—'thou mayest not hide thyself.'⁵ But a necessary and universal imperative in the Kantian sense would be most out of place here, since the Talmud declares the fulfilment of the command entirely dependent upon subjective conditions.⁶ The author in dwelling upon the universal as the essential character of Jewish and Kantian ethics seems to overlook the peculiarly rigorous nature of the Kantian universal which is quite foreign to Judaism. Morality is grounded on the rational nature of man. Man as rational, belongs to a world of freedom. This stands contrasted to a world of necessary causality to which man regarded as animal belongs. In the moral sphere man is creative; a partner of the Deity;⁷ his own creator.⁸ In the sphere of nature, he is helpless in the grasp of an inexorable necessity. It is evident no room is left for principles of utility originating in the natural world to influence action in the moral sphere. Utilitarian or Eudaemonistic ends and motives are not recognised in Jewish morality. The *supreme* good is virtue. Thus Ben Azai declares the reward of a moral act to be the opportunity for another moral act. Rabbi Jacob, while regarding this life as the mere vestibule to the future life, and insisting that an hour's bliss in the future life surpasses all the pleasures of this, yet maintains that one hour spent in moral activity surpasses all the bliss of the future life.

¹ 94, 102.² Kiddushin, 82.³ Yoma, 67 b.⁴ 99.⁵ Dent. xxii. 3.⁶ Bava Meziah, 30.⁷ Mechilta Yethro, 2; Shabbath, 10 a.⁸ Vayikra Rabbah, 35.

The *complete* good however, as with Kant, includes happiness.¹ The author deals ably with one great source of misconstruction,—the emphasis laid upon sanctions in the Bible and the Talmud. The Bible (and so the Talmud) does not only contain a formulation of ethical truths; it is also the Theocratic code. As a legal code it treats of the sanctions with which morality has been armed, but which do not in any way annul the purely moral imperative. The same political and pedagogical considerations influence the Talmudical teachings. But the recognised end is the moral ideal.²

In his chapter on the character of Jewish morality, the author treats of its universality in general form and detailed realisation. Jewish morality, from its earliest origin, was social. Though preserving the national setting, its real character was universal. The one God could not be a national God. He must be the God of the whole universe and of the whole of mankind. The inevitable corollaries are the unity of nature and the unity of mankind.³ The moral law is universal in every direction. It refers to all classes of society.⁴ It is eternal, valid for all future generations. It embraces the whole of mankind. "As ye are, so shall the stranger be before the Lord. One law and one manner shall be for you and the stranger that sojourneth with you."⁵ The author does not leave out of sight the national particularism which maintains its place in Jewish thought. But the difference is not ethical, only psychological. Universalists and particularists agree as to the end, but the latter emphasise the means to the end. The author proceeds to show by reference to Talmudical ordinances, how the Rabbis succeeded in giving expression to this universalism, in spite of adverse political circumstances and the lack of opportunity for complete application.

In the second part the author treats of the end of morality. This is expressed in Judaism in terms of holiness. 'Ye shall be holy' is the specific signature of Jewish ethics. This is at once its widest principle, its highest conception, and its specific differentia (369). But since becoming holy is becoming moral, the end of morality does not cease to be morality itself. The author is led to distinguish ethical holiness from religious holiness. But the former is a pure Kantian conception, and has no place in Judaism. Becoming holy includes specifically religious experiences, the expression of the felt relation between man and God, which are not identical with effort responding to the moral imperative. 'Ye shall be holy' stands in invariable connection with 'for I the Lord am holy.'

¹ Aboth vi. 6. R. Shimeon B. Yochai.

² Psalms xv. and xxiv.

⁴ Deut. xxix. 9.

³ Sifra Kedoshim, chap. iv.

⁵ Numb. xv. 15, 16.

The author is quite justified in assigning the place he does to this formula at the foundation of ethics. But this is because it is the essential peculiarity of Jewish ethics that the moral imperative never acts alone. It is always reinforced by the Divine fiat, and is never devoid of religious elements. It is from this ethico-religious standpoint that the crowning conception of human thought is attained, expressed in the Divine words, "And I shall be sanctified in you."¹ "If ye sanctify yourselves, I shall reckon it unto you as if ye had sanctified me."² This tendency to abstract unduly from the religious aspect is a general one with the author. When dealing with the supremacy of the ideal enunciated by R. Jacob, he seems to overlook the distinctively religious conception of *השׁוּבָה* 'return to God,' which precedes the 'good deeds,' and that it is the religious-moral state which surpasses the bliss of the future world. The author further distinguishes ritual holiness, and analyses its ethical value in a very interesting manner. The arbitrary antithesis between sacred and profane in ritual affords an archetype for the real antithesis to be maintained between holy and unholy in practice. Moral perfection demands that morality be taken as a whole, internally harmonious. The individuality of the person in the realm of nature is extended by unity of action to the sphere of morality. But such a unity is threatened by the intrusion of pathological motives and by one-sided emphasis upon particular parts of the moral law. In holiness, a unifying conception is provided for the moral content. The real end for man is not, however, holiness but becoming holy. As higher moral levels are attained, new prospects for moral action and increased responsibilities present themselves. Great stress is laid upon the morality of character. One must *be* good, truly to *do* good. The moral idea must be realised and become effective in the person.

In chapter v. the author proceeds to illustrate this by showing the connection of morality and submission to law-legality. The tone throughout is Kantian. There is the same undue emphasis upon the mere form of law. With Kant this was certainly justifiable, for the whole moral content was deduced from the pure form. The author does not attempt any such deduction. Form and content are quite disparate. The form is eternal, the content changes. But this divorce of form from content reacts to the disadvantage of the latter. Submissiveness to the form of law, not the fulfilment of its content, is the real end of law (224). The author illustrates this by citing the following passage from Bereshith Rabbah 44. Rav says, 'The commandments were given only to purify the creatures.' This the author understands to mean that the only valuable element in the commands

¹ Levit. xxii.; Ezek. xx. 41.

² Sifra Kedoshim 1.

is their formal character, and that the purification is accomplished by submission to the formal element of moral obedience. But all that Rav really says, and this the context makes clear, is that God did not give us the commands for His own benefit but for ours. (Compare Vayikra Rabbah 13, where Rav continues, "and wherefore all this? Because He is a buckler to all who trust in Him.") But further, obedience to God, with all its religious associations, and it is this which the Rabbis emphasise, is most certainly not obedience to a formal principle of moral law. This all-important point seems to be quite overlooked in this connection by the author. To illustrate further that it is submissiveness (legality) which is the ethical characteristic of action, he proceeds to cite the well-known controversy as to the comparative merits of 'acting when commanded' and 'acting without being commanded.' The former is given the preference.¹ The author seems quite to disregard the fact that the moral imperative applies to both cases, and that both are instances of submissiveness to the form of law. But in the first case the Divine fiat co-operates with the ethical fiat. The difference in submissiveness is of kind, not degree. The formal element of law is shown by the author to be the best means for attempting to realise the ideal of the complete harmonization of life. If it can create no systematic unity, yet when submissiveness permeates the whole of life a certain uniformity is produced. Above all else, its value lies in its universality, which makes it a bond of union for all moral beings. It associates them in a kingdom of ends, and serves further to strengthen the bonds of common physical needs and aims that are the natural foundation of society. The author's treatment is here very clear, and philosophically interesting.

The sixth chapter, entitled 'Law of Nature and Moral Law,' is, like the whole of the book, intensely interesting, and yet in parts very perplexing. He formulates the antithesis of moral law and causal process in true Kantian fashion. The two realms of morality and nature are entirely separate, and no encroachment can take place from either side (135). The position is an absolutely untenable one for the author. He, unlike Kant, does not deduce the moral content from the universal form of law. In spite of frequent insistence upon the exclusive ethical value of the mere form (224), he is compelled by his own position, and by the real nature of Jewish ethics, to modify this at the end of this chapter (287), and to include in the ethical ideal more than the 'ought.' But if natural conditions are to be brought by man under the ethical form, and if this is to constitute the full ethical ideal, then the ordinary reader will certainly fail to see how the

¹ Kiddushin, 31.

rigid mechanical conception of nature can be retained. If the causal nexus be determined and unchangeable, it is difficult to see how man can 'use' or 'direct' it for ethical purposes (136). Descartes' hypothesis of direction without change is scarcely one that the reader will think the author likely to adopt. For Kant the difficulty is largely obviated by his metaphysics, and the author does not appear to follow him here. But further, is the mechanical conception of nature the dominant one in Jewish thought? Does Judaism leave the two infinities, the starry heavens above and the moral law within, unconnected and disparate? Already in Genesis we find natural conditions dependent on the moral state. 'Cursed be the ground for thy sake' is not reconcileable with the conservation of energy. Throughout the whole of the Law an intimate connection of the moral and natural orders is asserted. It is not so much a sanction that is enunciated in "Honour thy father . . . that thy days may be long . . .," as a natural corollary. You are not good that it may rain; it rains because you are good. In Vayikra Rabbah 35, the gradually declining fruitfulness of the soil is associated with the progressive decline of morality. כִּמְהָ חֲטָא נֹרֵם illustrates clearly the standpoint taken. In Berachoth we have the famous dictum אֵלֹהֵי הַחֲטָא מְמִית אֵין הָעוֹרֵר מְמִית— it is the sin alone that slays. Physical death is here referred to. In Gitin 57 we are told that an extraordinary rise of market prices occurred. Some gross immorality was at once suspected. Investigation and expiation ensued, and the market rates resumed their normal standard. The immorality referred to was not that of the speculative corner. The author cites in support of his position the dictum in Aboda Zara, 54 b, 'that the course of the world is not to be altered' because of idolatry, etc. This possibly does not really oppose the dominant conception. It is only in the higher stages of moral development that there is real morality, and consequently real causal efficacy (Nachmanides Levit. 26). The author proceeds to show that nature, which is only non-holy and not unholy, becomes holy by union with ethical ends and unholy by association with vice. It is the entrance into the service of morality which constitutes the whole 'worth' of nature. Judaism would maintain with Kant, that 'If righteousness fail, no worth for human existence remains.'¹ The author seems to carry the identification of the moral law and the Torah to an undue extent both here and in his remarks² on the study of the Halacha. Resh Lakish is referring to the revealed Torah, with its religious implications, not to the categorical imperative of the practical reason. It is an unduly one-sided view to identify the study of the Torah, and the determination of the Halacha, with that

¹ Aboda Zara iii. a.² Nr. xxxvi.

'cogitation discovery and creation, in true ethical spirit, of law' which Hegel declares superior to the fulfilment of law. Nature and the physical organism, not being in themselves unholy, are enlisted in the consummation of the ethical ideal, and in the complete good happiness is an essential element. The body is not to be contemned, it can be made subservient to the ideal. When, however, devotion to the ideal is extreme, a disinclination to material pleasures is roused which is not always condemnable (283). This extreme ideality is only legitimate for the individual himself; towards others a realistic attitude is imperative. The author would say with Kant that the true ends are the perfection of self and the happiness of others.¹ No citation is given in support of this position, and it certainly requires considerable modification. The enormous emphasis laid upon education has been adequately treated by the author. But the life of the student is precisely one of the most extreme ideality.² 'The acquisition of the Law is only for him who surrenders his life for it.'³ The necessary indirectness in furthering the perfection of others is different only in degree from the indirectness in furthering their happiness.

In the last chapter the author deals with the unifying aspect of holiness. The sanctification of life connotes the unification of mankind. For holiness cannot properly refer to the individual, but to the community as a whole. Only the Deity is a holy individual, and He alone is termed in Scripture the 'Holy One.' When the conception of holiness is referred to man, it is to the social body in its generality—'Ye shall be holy.' The only exception, admitted as such by the author, is Kings ii. 4-9: 'I perceive this is an holy man of God'—but there the speaker is a woman (433). But this very circumstance tells against the argument. It suggests that a common form of expression is employed. The author's position is a difficult one to maintain.⁴ Certainly in the Talmudic literature there is no such restriction upon the use of 'holy.'⁵ The conception of a national holiness is admirably analysed by the author. It demands at once vivid personal consciousness and emphasised personal obligation, and the intimate union of the persons into a common society with an ideally constructed individuality. The author dwells upon the markedly Jewish feature of the continuity of national character. The interpretation given of Aboth ii. 2, which the author cites in illustration of the national unity felt

¹ Tugendlehre Einl. iv.

² Aboth vi. 4.

³ B'rachoth, 63.

⁴ Cp. Prov. ix. 10; Psalms xvi. 3, xxxiv. 10, etc., where individuals are obviously referred to.

⁵ Shemoth Rabbah xxxviii.; Yerushalmi Megillah i. (where Nachum is termed קרשים קרש).

as extending throughout the past and future, is not very convincing, and should perhaps be modified by B'rachoth 27 b, where the qualifications of a communal leader are referred to.¹ His interpretation of Aboth ii. 13 in the same connection is very strange. There is nothing Spinozistic about R. Shimeon's position. The character praised is that of a man with foresight, who balances the sacrifice for a duty against its reward, and does not incur responsibilities he is unable to meet. This is clearly shown by a comparison of the character with its contrary.² The author proceeds to analyse the reciprocal interaction between individual and community. Evil itself contributes indirectly to the common end. Not only the successes of the past, but its failures, its defeats and shortcomings, are the price of ultimate victory. The ten generations from Noah to Abraham were failures; Abraham came and reaped the fruit of their labours (Aboth v. 2). The ideal of the association of all souls in a kingdom of ends, once expressed, can never cease to be an ideal. It must remain as a hope, ever more purified and strengthened, in the hearts of men. It must shine eternally in the spirit of mankind, rousing the will and urging it onward to undaunted victorious activity. To forego the ideal is to renounce the worth of life and history, but its realisation is divinely promised—and 'the word of our God endureth eternally' (361).

With these inspiring words the author concludes his work, and we remain indebted to him for having insisted on and demonstrated more clearly and successfully than any recent writer the essential nobility of Jewish ethical thought. Jewish ethics is neither the hide-bound legalism nor the materialistic utilitarianism of prevalent caricature. For making this clear, at least, the debt to Professor Lazarus is very great. The completion of his work will be awaited with eagerness.

JOSEPH M. ASHER.

Neutestamentliche Ethik.

Von D. Hermann Jacoby, Ord. Professor der Theologie in Königsberg. Königsberg: Beyer; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. Pp. xi. 481. Price, M.11.20.

NEW Testament Theology has for the most part claimed the ethical teaching of the New Testament as a mere province of its own domain. Christian Ethics as a science has now for a long time occupied an independent position in relation to Christian dogmatics, but within the limits of the New Testament it is not

¹ Nr. xlv. a.

² Nr. xlv. b.

easy to separate doctrine and morals. Professor Jacoby in this volume undertakes this task, and we may say at once with success sufficient to justify his attempt. It will be well understood, however, from the outset by every intelligent reader that such success can only be comparative, that any complete separation of these two departments of New Testament study is impossible. Whether Gospels, Acts, Epistles, or Apocalypse be in question, both theologian and moralist are bound to deal with the same material, a living whole, in which religion and ethics are indissolubly blended. It is the standpoint that varies; the theologian reproduces the teaching of revelation with the stress laid upon belief, the moralist exhibits the same doctrine in its bearing on character and conduct. A considerable part of Dr Jacoby's volume might find a place quite appropriately in a treatise on Christian doctrine. He would not have been faithful to the spirit of Paul, or of John, or of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, as ethical teacher, had it been otherwise.

None the less the change in the point of view is instructive, and the author has vindicated the soundness of his plan by giving to familiar material a new impress. He pursues the method of Biblical theology very closely. In his first book he examines the teaching of Jesus; in the second, the Epistles of James, Hebrews, and 1 Peter; the third book is devoted to St Paul; the fourth and last includes an examination of the Synoptic Gospels, the Acts, and St John's writings, together with Jude and 2 Peter. In the sectional treatment, analysis is sometimes pushed to an extreme. The Epistle of James is described chapter by chapter. St Paul's Epistles are examined separately, at least in many cases; even the three Epistles of St John are considered apart. From time to time a summary is appended, in which results are gathered up, but the *method* throughout is analytic to a fault. Dogmatic theologians in the past have, it is true, paid too little attention to the distinctions on which Biblical theology rightly lays emphasis, but it is a mistake to overestimate shades of distinction in Biblical usage. Professor Jacoby fails in synthesis as markedly as he excels in analysis. The *Zusammenfassung* which from time to time he inserts, consists of a series of numbered paragraphs without organic connexion, and one misses in his pages the glance of insight which detects and reveals vital unity in a multiplicity of details, the quickening touch which would make of the collected dry bones a living army. On the other hand, the method adopted leads to a minute examination of documents and chapters and even words, which is most instructive, and the five hundred closely packed pages of this volume form a mine of detailed discussion of great value, in which nearly every aspect of the ethical teaching of the New Testament is displayed.

A word or two must suffice on the author's critical opinions. Rightly enough he does not undertake to give reasons for the critical positions taken up, but he describes at each stage his own view of the several documents on which his conclusions are based. Professor Jacoby may be described as a Liberal Conservative. In dealing with the teaching of Jesus, he relies mainly on the Synoptists, occasionally questioning the trustworthiness of a tradition supported only by one authority. The fourth Gospel he regards as Johannine and as a legitimate source of a secondary or supplementary character, the material being in the author's view largely coloured by the "subjectivity" of the evangelist. He regards "Ephesians" as belonging to the Pauline circle of thought, though not written by St Paul: the Pastoral Epistles likewise cannot be attributed to St Paul in their present form, though they contain material of which the critical student of Paul's writings may avail himself. In the Epistle of James he considers the sections iv. 1-10 and v. 1-6 as interpolations, the denunciations they contain referring to unbelieving Jews. 2 Peter he does not consider genuine, and he agrees with many other Lutheran writers in refusing to recognise its canonicity, though its ethical teaching is briefly considered in connexion with the Epistle of Jude. On questions of detail—such, for example, as the genuineness of Christ's words on Baptism in Matt. xxviii. 19, and the accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper—Jacoby's position is, on the whole, conservative. But he is conservative on critical grounds and does not hesitate to abandon tradition on what he considers good cause shown. His criticism is sane and moderate. He does not detect irreconcilable discrepancies in accounts of the same event written from varying points of view, nor does he discover later 'hands' wherever a writer may appear to modern eyes to be slightly inconsistent with himself. Yet Jacoby is no "apologist." The present writer cannot agree with him in the critical positions taken up as regards James or Ephesians or the Pastoral Epistles, or on several other points of detail. But every reader may feel assured that he is in the hands of an honest and independent guide, one who may be trusted and read with interest even when his actual conclusions do not commend themselves to the judgment.

The leading ethical ideas of the New Testament are developed mainly in chronological order. But we could have wished that the ethical relation of Christ to the Old Testament had been brought into clearer relief and set in the foreground, and that the relation of the various types of Apostolic doctrine to our Lord's teaching had been made more plain. This requires to be done from an ethical, as well as from a dogmatic point of view. Answers to the questions which the student is likely to put on these heads

may be gained to some extent from the book, but not easily, and they have to be extracted, instead of readily presenting themselves. The leading ethical ideas of St Paul, for example, are well described, but the reader is not made to see how the branches spring from a central stem and what relation the trunk bears to the underlying roots. The chapters upon Faith in Christ's teaching and in Paul's and the connexion of faith with duty as brought out both by our Lord and His Apostles, leave much to be desired. It would not be fair to the learned and able author to leave the impression that his work is marked by "disconnection dull and spiritless," but the articulation of the whole appears to us to be mechanical rather than vital.

To turn to details. The teaching of Jesus is described in twenty-one chapters, eight of which deal with its fundamental ideas, twelve with its fuller development, while the last summarises the whole. Christ's teaching concerning righteousness, repentance and the law is appropriately dealt with first. Then follow such headings as these: Life, Forgiveness of Sins, Sonship, The Kingdom of God, Reward, Faith, Prayer, Sacrifice, Love and its Attendant Virtues; our Lord's teaching on these and other topics being displayed in detail. But, as already remarked, we fail to trace here an organic or genetic treatment such as would bring these details into due relation to one another and to the whole, while some of the sections belong at least as much to theology as to ethics. Both these facts are to some extent due to the nature of the task the author has undertaken. A critic who sets himself to exhibit our Lord's ethical teaching apart from His doctrine will soon discover two things—first, that the task is, strictly speaking, impossible; and secondly, in so far as it may be partially carried out, that the pure pearls of precept have lost their proper connecting links and must be admired apart, instead of in their appropriate setting.

The author's skill is best displayed in detailed exegesis. We had marked a number of passages to illustrate this which we cannot even enumerate. The exposition of the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard is excellent in its own way, as is the brief but convincing explanation of a passage often misunderstood—our Lord's treatment of the "woman who was a sinner" in Luke vii. 37-50. Characteristically good also is the treatment of the Lord's Prayer on pp. 68-72. It may be questioned whether this subject properly comes under the head of 'Ethics,' but the author keeps fairly within his own province, and both prayer generally and the details of the petitions in the Lord's Prayer possess important ethical, as well as doctrinal aspects. The same may be said of the author's examination of our Lord's words to Peter concerning His Church, as given in Matt. xvi. 13-19. Professor Jacoby vindi-

cates the authenticity of this narrative, partly on external and partly on internal grounds, and discusses briefly but ably the various interpretations of the words, "On this rock I will build my church." The stress of the exposition, however, is laid upon the practical side of our Lord's teaching concerning His Church and the power of binding and loosing committed to the community acting in His name. Excellent judgment is displayed in the exegesis of this and other difficult passages.

We regret that we cannot describe in detail Professor Jacoby's handling of the Epistle of James. Here the ethical teacher is on ground that none can dispute with him. St James is ethical or nothing. He finds an apt interpreter in our author, who is here even more minute than usual, and we can hardly wish a paragraph of his elaborate exposition away. He admits no real discrepancy of doctrine between Paul and James (p. 184). The difference between 'faith,' 'works' and 'justification' in the usage of the two writers is clearly brought out, though "idealism" hardly describes the attitude of Paul towards justification, or "realism" that of James. In this and other parts of the exposition of St James' Epistle, the author is travelling over very familiar ground, but in no part of it is his treatment conventional or commonplace. He has worked out his subject for himself, and even the student who is weary of multiplied handbooks on New Testament theology will read this chapter—as well as many others—with interest and profit. It is not everyone who can impart freshness of treatment to topics so frequently handled, whilst himself not a novelty-hunter, but one who keeps for the most part to old and well-trodden paths.

About one-third of the whole volume is devoted to St Paul. Here again we find it easier to praise the details of exposition than the general arrangement of the whole. The author does not consistently pursue a topical division of his theme, nor does he confine himself to an examination of the several Epistles chronologically. He begins with the fundamental Christian ideas as found in the earliest Epistles, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and then deals with general subjects, such as the Law, the Flesh and Sin; Conversion and the New Life; after which the Epistles are considered separately as regards some of their salient ethical features, while three concluding chapters aim at gathering up the general drift of the whole. The effect upon the reader is somewhat bewildering. He cannot see the wood for the trees. Whilst almost every page contains some just and illuminating remark on some point of Paul's teaching, and no part of his Epistles remains unexamined, the general impression of Paul as an ethical teacher which is left on the reader's mind lacks unity, clearness and precision of outline, while the 'summary' and

'retrospect' at the end help very little to remove the indistinctness caused by the multiplicity of details. The best chapter on the whole is that on the New Life; whilst the detailed exposition of such passages as St Paul's answers to casuistical questions in 1 Cor. vii., the hymn to love in 1 Cor. xiii., and the more discursive ethical teaching of "Philippians," with its strongly personal tone, displays the ability of an experienced and accomplished interpreter of the New Testament.

We cannot stay to describe the rest of the book. The author finds himself in some difficulty when he sets about explaining the ethical position of the Synoptists and St John apart from the teaching of Christ which the Gospels contain. His treatment of St John as a whole is somewhat disappointing, though the points of agreement and contrast with St Paul are well brought out.

The author has not left himself space to discuss several questions which should surely find some place in a treatise on New Testament ethics. How much is presupposed, whether of Jewish or ethnic morality, in the ethical teaching of the New Testament? What is its relation to other systems of morals? How far is its moral code complete? How far is the Biblical treatment of the subject to be considered final, and how is it related to the "Christian ethics" of later generations and the progressive development of that science? Any lengthened discussion of these questions is hardly to be expected, and some light is cast on some of them incidentally in the course of exposition and in a concluding chapter, which, however, is tantalising in its brevity and general sketchiness. But we could well have spared many pages of excellent detailed exposition to make way for a treatment of present-day problems inevitably raised by a scientific and elaborate treatise on the ethics of the New Testament.

It is futile, however, to press such objections. The author has chosen his own theme, and treated it, for better or for worse, in his own way. It is our part to commend the excellence of his achievement within his chosen limits. Professor Jacoby has occupied ground not precisely covered before, so far as we are aware. He refers in his preface to a prize-essay of A. Thoma, published in 1879, with which we are not acquainted. The author's method brings him more into comparison with Harless than with Martensen, Dorner, Luthardt or Gass. But his treatise occupies an independent position, and has an independent value of its own. It is one which all New Testament students may consult with profit, and which no writer on Christian ethics should fail to take account of and appreciate.

W. T. DAVISON.

Die biblische Lehre vom heiligen Geiste.

Von D. Th. et. Ph. Karl v. Lechler. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 307. Geb. 7s. 3d.

Geschichte der Lehre von heiligen Geiste.

Von Dr K. F. Noesgen. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 376. Geb. 7s. 3d.

THE appearance simultaneously of two works on the doctrine of the Spirit is surely a notable fact. The two works are, to a certain extent, mutually complementary, one dealing with the Biblical teaching, the other with the history of the Doctrine in the Church. The writer of the first commands a singularly lucid and precise style; the subject has been with him matter of life-long reading and reflection, of which his work gives the mature fruit. If there is much in his exposition that does not at once secure assent, he is always interesting and suggestive. Both writers call attention to the slight amount of attention which the doctrine of the Spirit has received from the beginning in the Church; the creeds bear ample testimony to this fact. It would almost seem as if the neglect were now to be repaired.

Dr Lechler's work is arranged in three sections: the Spirit of God as Nature-Spirit, Holy Spirit, and in Relation to the Triune Godhead. In the first section, the Spirit is considered in his relation to primeval matter—water, air, fire, to the vegetable and animal world, to man's physical life and mental life. The second section treats of the Spirit in the individual Christian and in the Church. The third section discusses the still more mysterious relations of the Spirit in the Triune Godhead. It will be at once seen that the plan is a comprehensive one and covers the entire ground of Biblical teaching. Water, air, and fire are the three scriptural figures of speech illustrating the Spirit's gracious operation, and these are subtly connected with the Spirit's creative work in the physical sphere. Here as elsewhere there is a theosophic strain, and the frequent reference to Oetinger's name shows where the author has obtained inspiration and help; but the strain is kept within exceedingly moderate limits. In the exposition of the Spirit brooding over the waters there is a faint preluding of the incarnation. The second section affords most scope for Scripture exposition, and this part of the work is especially rich in suggestiveness. The reader will not be surprised to find the Lutheran Doctrine of Baptism strongly advocated. We

do not profess to understand all that is said in the last section on the Spirit being at once personal and impersonal. What in general is intimated is that 'personality' has been too sharply defined in its application to the divine life. The exposition of the Scripture evidence for the personality of the Spirit is finely done. It would be hard to add to its completeness and cogency. The argument from the Spirit's capacity of suffering is beautifully put. Isaiah and Paul are shown equally to share this idea. "What can the N.T. show greater than this gospel of the suffering Spirit of God? Paul has simply taken over into his treasury of truth this precious pearl of O.T. revelation, and repeated Isaiah's word of admonition to his Ephesians—in a somewhat milder tone, one will perhaps say, but with the same background of severe recompense at the Day of Judgment in case the grieving does not cease." On the very last pages the author has an ingenious and almost daring argument to show that the mutual subordination of the persons in the divine Trinity—even of Father to Son and Spirit—is involved in the very nature of love. "Love can never be anything else than full self-surrender to another. Only where it quite forgets itself and only finds itself again in the beloved object, does it reach an essential fulfilment of its idea. In this the divine love stands under no other law than the human. . . . God would not be love, unless unconditional self-surrender could be affirmed of him. . . . Self-surrender is subordination to another. The two ideas cannot be separated from each other." Certainly an ingenious and courageous application of an idea of Origen's.

While the praise of lucidity cannot be given to Dr Noesgen's style, the matter is exceedingly valuable. The review is comprehensive. The period down to the Reformation occupies about one-third of the volume. The remainder deals with the Reformation and subsequent writers. Copious extracts are given. The work is a first attempt in this field and must have cost a great amount of research and patient toil. The materials thus collected and arranged others will usefully apply.

J. S. BANKS.

Les origines de la Compagnie de Jésus, Ignace et Lainez.

Par Hermann Müller. Paris: Fischbacher; London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 329.

THE writer of this interesting volume sets himself a perfectly hopeless task, and succeeds in something else than what he aims at. He is very careful to explain and delimit his purpose, which is to

investigate and, if possible, ascertain the reason why from the year of its birth the Society of Jesus or the Jesuits should have excited such violent and such contradictory feelings and opinions in the minds of their contemporaries. That there is a problem here he has no difficulty in showing. Neither the Benedictines nor the Dominicans, nor even the Franciscans themselves, ever roused such controversy or stimulated such furious hostility. A Church within the Church, now identified with the Church itself by both friend and foe, now detested by the Popes as cordially as by the Protestants, distrusted, hated, but never despised, *odium generis humani*, and yet unslain by the hate of prince and people, the Society of Jesus presents indeed one of the strangest problems of history. M. Müller desires and intends to approach this problem with perfect impartiality. He recognises that all has been said for and against the Jesuits, "except, perhaps, the truth without passion and without disguise." "It seems," as was said by Lacordaire, "as if these people have the power of sending mad both those who attack and those who defend them." And while we would be very far from seeing in M. Müller another illustration of this saying—for he is throughout sober and judicial—his work does show again the impossibility of dealing with the problem without forming and revealing at least a sub-conscious judgment on the character and methods of the Society.

He does all he can to guard himself and to secure an absolutely dry light for his investigation by confining his study to the very earliest stage of the Society and to documents of first hand. And if even here it is impossible for either the writer or his readers to resist a sense of moral repulsion, the fact is one which must have an important bearing on our judgment of the later stages also.

M. Müller insists on the singularity of the Society; neither last of the "Monastic Orders" nor first of the "Congregations," but an "Institute"; its members neither monks nor priests; ostensibly subject to, but really independent of, even the principles of canon law and the Pope himself; vaunting itself as unchanging and unchanged since the day of its foundation, but actually most flexible, even fluid in its forms, because dependent at all times on the absolute rule of one man—its General. The first half of the book, therefore, is devoted to a new study of the founder and first general, Ignatius Loyola. This is most remarkable for the way in which the author works out the suggestion that Ignatius borrowed the *idée mère*, the guiding lines and many of the forms of his Society from Mahommedan sources and Mahommedan institutions. He turns inside out the Jesuit legend of Ignatius receiving the principles and constitution of his Society in a series of divine revelations at Manresa; and finds a hint of the true origin of the founder's

idea in the well-known story of his prolonged interview and argument with a Mussulman cavalier as he rode to Manresa. The spirit which breathes in the famous *Spiritual Exercises* derived in part from Cisneros, but the organisation and method there inculcated are too closely parallel to those of the Mussulman monastic orders, such as *Chadelya*, to leave any doubt of their infidel source. M. Müller traces this parallelism in detail with regard to the very points which the Jesuits call the fundamental and essential characteristics of their Institute, viz., in the following:— (1) The form of government and the nature of the obedience which the Society exacts from its members; (2) the method of initiation and training to which it submits its followers; (3) the various degrees of membership which it establishes and the "occultism" it practises; and (4) the object it pursues and the confusion it induces between the spiritual and the temporal orders. The parallels are very striking as the following extracts from the Mussulman "rule" will show. "Thou shalt be in the hands of thy Sheikh (=General) as a dead body in the hands *du laveur des morts* (cf. 'perinde ac cadaver'). Obey thy Sheikh in all that he commands for it is God himself who commands by his voice." This doctrine was absolutely new to Catholicism, and in its logical issue is indeed subversive of the Papacy. For the General, who is thus *in loco Dei*, is only nominally subservient to the Pope.

In the second part of the volume we pass from Ignatius to Lainez, the second General of the Society, and here we observe a certain want of coherence or at least of clearness in showing the continuity of development. If Lainez in his struggle with Paul IV. contributed so much to give the constitution of the Society its final form, do not Loyola and the source of his inspiration lose at least some of the importance the author ascribes to them? Doubtless the reply is that Lainez was acting consistently with the spirit and purpose of his master. But then the parallel drawn with the relations of Brother Elias and S. Francis loses its force and even its justification. This does not help the Jesuit case. They do all they can to ignore Lainez. By Ignatius they stand or fall. And the tracing of his vaunted "inspiration" to a human and infidel source lays the axe at the root of their tree. If, however, they were to claim on Lainez then they have to meet the contemporary testimony of Paul IV. and of S. Charles Borromeo that he aimed at "governing both Kings and Pontiffs, ruling the temporal and the spiritual," that he introduced "a foreign spirit" into the institution of Ignatius.

The book is a valuable one, and particularly as showing how in its very origin and its conception this Society of Jesus rests upon that subordination of morality to a falsely opposed ideal

of the "greater glory of God," which explains and justifies the profound distrust with which it has been regarded by Protestant and Catholic alike. It defies, often with success, the judgment of history, but it cannot ultimately defy the moral sense of the world.

In conclusion, we would draw the attention of those who are interested in the subject, to Staehelin's valuable article on *die Entstehung des Jesuitenordens* in the *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz*, part ii., of last year.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

**Passions des Saints Ecaterine et Pierre d'Alexandrie,
Barbara et Anysia.**

Par M. l'Abbé Joseph Viteau. Paris: Bouillon; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. 123. Price, F.7.

M. VITEAU offers this volume as a contribution to the study of Greek hagiography, and has been at considerable pains to verify the texts and provide them with a Latin translation. As the legends are already accessible in the form given to them by the Metaphrast, and are not of any great value in themselves, it may be doubted whether his labour has been wisely expended. In fact, he seems to be conscious of some such doubt himself, and admits in his preface that the literary value of these documents is "sufficiently slight." For some purposes it might be convenient to have an authoritative text of these martyrdoms, but this M. Viteau has not attempted to construct, contenting himself with printing, for example, four consecutive versions of the *Passio S. Ecaterinae*, though three of them must be of demonstrably inferior value. Probably the work is to be followed by some study in hagiography, for which it provides the basis. At the end will be found an interesting note on the reading in Acts xxv. 13.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

**Die messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen
Volkes bis zu den Targumim.**

Historisch-kritisch untersucht und erläutert von Dr. Phil. Eugen Hühn, Pfarrer in Heilingen bei Orlamünde. Mit einem Vorwort von Professor D. Paul W. Schmiedel in Zürich. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv. 165. Price, M.3.60.

THIS is an attempt to discuss the Messianic prophecies of the Israelitish-Jewish people in an historico-critical manner. It is neither a treatise on Messianic Prophecy, nor an outline of the

Jewish religion. The author aims at setting forth the various Messianic passages of the Old Testament, etc., in what is generally supposed to be their historical order; the most important of these passages he provides with notes, which form a kind of commentary; and he also cites all the New Testament passages in which the Old Testament passages in question are in any way noticed.

The author has performed his task in an altogether admirable manner. He is thoroughly acquainted with the literature of his subject; he is possessed of great sobriety of judgment; and he is able to express a great deal in comparatively few words. Those, whose knowledge of the literature is already large, will probably find little that is new in his book, but they will doubtless be the foremost to acknowledge its value; while to those of us, who have little leisure and are yet interested in the Old Testament, he has rendered a very great service. Dr Hühn is a Swiss pastor; and his brethren in the ministry of the Word, whether they agree with his critical and exegetical positions or no, will find in his pages what, so far as I know, they could not find elsewhere in so convenient a form.

An introductory chapter treats of a number of general questions. Messianic prophecies are of two classes. In those strictly so-called, reference is made to the Messiah and the circumstances of His time, i.e. to the great personality who in the end-time is to stand in the centre of the most perfect theocracy conceivable. There is another class, in which there are promises of a perfect condition, but in the picture of that future the person of the Messiah is wanting. As a rule this Messianic condition is expected in a comparatively short time; and the filling up of the picture is almost always limited to the earthly consummation of the national theocracy. Still, even in the earliest prophecies reference is made, not only to Israel, but also to the neighbouring nations; and finally, to all nations, the whole world, heaven and earth.

The external cause giving rise to Messianic prophecies was the glaring contrast between reality and ideal. Israel held itself to be the chosen people of an omnipotent God; it was full of faith in the victory of its God and in its own great destiny; there must therefore dawn for it a blessed final time, in which this glaring contrast should be done away with, and ideal and actuality should coincide. But while the content of the predictions was always the picture of a future in which that contrast was abolished, in the course of the history of the people now this and now that moment was most prominent. This was due partly to the individuality of the prophet, and more especially to the circumstances of the time in which he lived. Hence some, in their picture of the future, give special prominence to the reunion of Ephraim and Judah, others to the

deliverance and return of those carried away into a strange land ; some make the Messiah, others Jehovah, the central figure in the new condition ; in some we find a full-fledged universalism, while in others particularism is not yet done away with even in the end-time. The Messianic idea did not, as is often supposed, develop in a straight line and with steadily growing clearness.

These Messianic prophecies were of great influence in the ethical and religious training of the Jews. In days of external prosperity, they warned against pride : Jehovah will chastise even His chosen people, purify them, and send them into captivity. In times of sore visitation they were full of good cheer : Jehovah will not forget His own, but will give them a glorious future. By proclaiming that in the future other nations, as well as Israel, should worship Jehovah, they also prepared the soil for a wide-hearted universalism, though it was only in Christianity that this was fully developed.

The Christians of the early Church found in these prophecies a main support of their faith in Christ. For us, however, they do not have this significance. Faith in the Messiahship of Jesus does not have for us its firmest foundation in the comparison of prophecy with fulfilment ; Jesus' person and work are their own best evidence, and God's Spirit bears witness thereof to our spirit. It was not the main function of the prophets to be foretellers of coming events. Moreover, predictions of individual details in the life of Jesus, even if they have been fulfilled, are of very little religious value. The prophets did not see Jesus, as He actually appeared in history. In the first place, they were unable to rise to the purely religious-ethical standpoint which He took ; and, secondly, when pointing to the blessedness of the latter days, they for the most part found it in the great abundance of external blessings. None of them has risen to the thought that His kingdom is not of this world. The historical Christ far surpassed their expectations.

The Gospels show us that Jesus laid no stress on the sensuous side of the prophetic pictures of the future. It was passages like Jer. xxxi. 31 ff. that specially appealed to Him. He laid no stress on the words of the Old Testament, that might be regarded as predictions of individual events in His life ; nor did He make entrance into the Kingdom of God dependent upon faith in such predictions. He certainly, in common with His time, referred Ps. cx. to the Messiah ; towards the end of His life the Book of Daniel had considerable influence on His expectation of His Parousia ; but the Old Testament ideas that really influenced Him were those of God as Father, of love to God and to one's neighbour, of mercy and compassion as superior to fasting and sacrifice ; ideas that have nothing whatever to do with Messianic hope.

In the second and larger part of the volume Dr Hühn treats

of the Messianic prophecies of the several prophets, etc. He groups them in four divisions: 1, the Assyrian period; 2, the Chaldean period; 3, the Persian period; and 4, the Graeco-Roman period. In the case of each of the prophets he gives, first, an account of the moral and spiritual condition of the people and of the threatening of judgment that he pronounced upon them; and then exhibits in considerable detail their picture of the Messianic future. Though he writes from the critical standpoint, he is by no means extreme in his positions. In regard to the alleged interpolations, he is conservative; while admitting the possibility of such interpolations, he insists that we must admit them, only when the arguments against their originality are absolutely convincing. He occasionally finds it difficult to set forth a prophet's conception of the future, which varied according to the varying circumstances of the prophet's own time; and in the case of Isa. xl.-lxvi., while admitting that there is more than one author, he finds it advisable to proceed on the assumption that these chapters form on the whole a unity and belong to the exilic period.

The author's treatment is very full, when he comes to consider the fourth or Graeco-Roman period. To this period belong Zech. ix.-xiv., Isa. xxiv.-xxvii., Daniel, the Psalter (most of the Psalms being exilic or post-exilic, some of them even Maccabaeian), the Apocrypha, the Psalms of Solomon, the Book of Enoch, the Apocalypses of Baruch and of Ezra, Philo, the Targums, etc. After exhibiting the Messianic contents of the various books separately, he gathers up the results, in a long section, under the following heads: *events immediately preceding the end-time* (the return of Elias; the appearing of the prophet like Moses; sore tribulations); *the judgment* (in the earlier books of this period it is God that is judge; in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch the Messiah is associated with God as judge, but nowhere else does he appear in a judicial capacity; several books speak of a twofold judgment, the first introducing the time of the Messiah, and the second the real end-time); *resurrection and retribution* (several books mention neither resurrection nor immortality; others mention only a resurrection of the just; a few teach the resurrection both of just and unjust and the immortality of all men, but no Jewish Apocalypse teaches, like Rev. xx. 4-6, 12-15, the resurrection of the just before that of the unjust; several teach that immediately after death, the pious are translated to Paradise, which is of unspeakable beauty, or to some other special abode of bliss in the neighbourhood of God, while the godless are removed to a special place of torture, where, according to some, their misery is intensified by their beholding God's glory and the blessedness of the just; after the judgment the abode of the righteous is, according to

most, the same earth upon which they had previously lived ; according to others, it is heaven, or the heights of the previously invisible, but now visible world, or an absolutely new world, which has pre-existed in heaven, and now makes its appearance ; the godless are thrust down into Hades, whither their sins pursue them, or into Gehenna ; as a rule their damnation is thought of as eternal ; in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch it is said that in the hour of judgment it is still possible for them to repent, so as to be exempted from damnation, but there is nowhere any hint of the ultimate blessedness of any who have been cast into Gehenna or Hades) ; *the blessings of the end-time* (these consist mostly in peace, freedom from sorrow and pain, and in abundance of external goods ; Jerusalem is more glorious than ever ; the new Jerusalem is, according to Baruch and Ezra, already existent in heaven ; pious Israelites living in a foreign land are to return to Palestine before the dawn of the glorious day ; "to inherit the land" is synonymous with "to share in the Messianic salvation") ; *the Messiah* (comparatively few of the books of this period contain no allusion to a Messiah or ideal king ; a few mean by the Messiah a series of kings rather than a single person, the Targums speak both of a series of kings and of an individual Messiah ; but nevertheless the hope of one ideal king was predominant ; this ideal king is known by several names : Messiah, Son of God, Son of Man, the Elect One, the Righteous One, etc. ; he is descended from David ; his pre-existence in heaven is taught in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch and in the Apocalypse of Ezra ; he is free from sin, and wise ; his rule is therefore just and peaceful ; he is the perfect king ; he is occasionally represented as having to fight for his dominion, but as a rule, at the setting up of his kingdom there are either no foes to be overthrown, or they are destroyed by him without a stroke of the sword ; his kingdom is a world-kingdom, of which, however, Jerusalem and Palestine remain the centre ; while as a rule it seems to be assumed that his reign is eternal, Pseudo-Baruch, Pseudo-Ezra and the earlier Sibylline books make it of temporary duration, the prelude, as it were, of the real end-time ; there is nowhere any allusion to a suffering and dying of the ideal king in behalf of others ; Pseudo-Ezra speaks expressly of his death, but his death is not substitutionary ; in the Targums there is occasional mention made of two Messiahs : the Messiah out of Judah and a Messiah who is a son of Ephraim ; of the former it is never said that he must suffer ; his name has been named from eternity, and he lives for ever ; the latter has to fight against the enemies of the Messianic kingdom, and dies).

In two Appendices Dr Hühn treats of the unfulfilled prophecies of the Old Testament, and of a number of passages that have been, according to him, erroneously interpreted in a Messianic sense.

These are, Gen. iii. 14 f., iv. 1, ix. 26, 27, xlix. 8-10; Num. xxiv. 17-19; Deut. xviii. 15-18; Isa. iv. 2, vii. 14, lii. 13—liii. 12; the Song of Solomon, Job xix. 25-27, and a number of passages in the Psalter. It is for purely exegetical reasons that he rejects the Messianic reference of these passages; but his reasoning is certainly not always convincing. There is also a full index of the passages referred to in the course of the work.

DAVID EATON.

Aus Schrift und Geschichte.

Theologische Abhandlungen und Skizzen Herrn Prof. Dr Conrad von Orelli zur Feier seiner 25-jährigen Lehrthätigkeit in Basel von Freunden und Schülern gewidmet. Basel: R. Reich; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 458. Price, M.6.50.

By the publication of this volume of biblical and historical studies the friends and pupils of Dr Conrad von Orelli celebrate his semi-jubilee as Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. With a few exceptions, the writers are not so well-known as were the essayists who gave distinction to similar volumes dedicated in recent years to Weizsäcker, Cremer and B. Weiss. Nevertheless, these studies have considerable interest and value; the subjects dealt with cover a wide field of thought, and are discussed frankly and fairly from the point of view of a liberal orthodoxy; moreover, as will appear, some of the essays are able and independent enquiries into vexed questions of Biblical interpretation, and assign good reasons for rejecting the more extreme conclusions of critics of the Ritschlian school.

I. Dr Adolf Schlatter of Berlin contributes a detailed and forceful exposition of John v. and vi., his object being to show that in the Johannine portrait of Jesus these two chapters are of great significance, and were intended to explain the reasons for our Lord's definite breach with the Jews, both of Jerusalem and of Galilee. In John i. to iv. the attractive power of the ministry of Jesus is described, and the only conflict recorded is that with the temple authorities; but at the close of chapter vi. He is forsaken, and appeals to the twelve: "Would ye also go away?" The rupture with the Jews of Jerusalem (John v.) was caused by our Lord's attitude towards the Sabbath law—the disagreement was in regard to the *Halacha*; the rupture with the Galileans (John vi.) was caused by our Lord's refusal to be made a king—the disagreement was in regard to the *Haggada*. On the one hand, His spiritual interpretation of the Law and His superiority to Jewish tradition offended

the legalists ; and on the other hand, His declining to accept the rôle of the legendary Messiah and His startling words about His death were an offence to the Galileans. For the Jews of Jerusalem His claims were too lofty, for the Jews of Galilee His conception of His career was too lowly. The difference in tone between the discourses in chapters v. and vi. is well brought out, and the significance of their teaching in present-day controversies is insisted upon with great vigour ; for these chapters are no mere "historical reminiscences," their value for us is that they define Christ's attitude to His Church, and in studying them Christians may learn in what relation they stand to Him.

II. "Preachers and Hearers in the time of Origen" is the title of an interesting historical study by Professor Barth of Berne, who makes use not only of the twenty sermons of Origen which are extant in Greek, but also of those translated into Latin by Rufinus and Jerome. The purpose of the essay is to show that in all ages the Church has need of preachers like Origen—exact scholars and trained theologians, who have also the ability lucidly to expound and earnestly to apply the truth. Origen's style is simple, his sermons are not models of graceful rhetoric, but they are fine examples of incisive reasoning and pungent appeal ; he is a noble specimen of the preacher, who, being an accomplished exegete, uses his stores of learning and his powerful imagination with deep humility, in order that he may effectively preach the Gospel to the people.

III. The authorship of the Pastoral Epistles is discussed at length by Pfarrer Rüegg, who holds that the problem has been rendered more difficult to solve by the uncritical habit of treating the three letters as a single literary production. A more thorough exegetical study of the special characteristics of each epistle will result, he thinks, in the confirmation of belief in their Pauline authorship. Rüegg's method is to summarise all that is known of the occasion of each epistle, to point out how they differ one from another, and then by means of a careful analysis of the contents of each, to show that it exactly suits the peculiarities of the historical situation. His argument is cumulative in force, and goes far to prove the credibility of the Pauline authorship of these epistles, and to render unnecessary the hypothesis that they are literary compilations, not genuine letters. [As an evidence of the difficulties which beset the varied forms of this hypothesis, it is worthy of notice that in the second edition of Strack & Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Commentar* Riggenbach rejects the theory advocated in the first edition by Kübel—that the Pastoral Epistles are Pauline letters edited by Luke, and falls back on the theory of Grau—that they are Pauline letters edited by Timothy.]

IV. A difficult theme is skilfully handled by Lic. E. Riggenbach

of Basle : "The Sources of the Resurrection narratives with especial reference to the localities of our Lord's appearances." New interest has been imparted to the discussion of this old problem by the discovery of the fragment of the 'Gospel according to Peter,' which Harnack exalts into an authority of the first rank, with the result that he gives preference to the tradition of Matthew and Mark who, when so-called interpolations are excluded, refer only to appearances of the Risen Saviour in Galilee. This view is opposed with great ability by Loofs, who, in No. 33 of the *Hefte zur Christlichen Welt*, vindicates the originality of the tradition preserved in Luke and John xx., and recording appearances in Jerusalem. Loofs, however, regards the appearances in Galilee as doubtful, whilst Riggensbach in this essay contends that the two traditions, though seemingly opposed, are not irreconcilable.

A summary of the conclusions arrived at as the result of a lengthy investigation is all that can be attempted here. (1) The original ending of the Gospel according to Mark is lost, and cannot be reconstructed from John xxi., nor from the Petrine fragment, but it is improbable that Mark intended to close his narrative at xvi. 8. (2) In John xxi. 1-14 the 'third' appearance of the Risen Saviour to his disciples is recorded—not the first as both Harnack and Loofs maintained; this appearance was in Galilee and the account of it cannot be explained as an inexact reminiscence of Luke v. 1-11; the fourth Gospel comes to its fitting and formal close immediately after it has reached its climax in the confession of Thomas (xx. 28), but the "Appendix" makes it plain that although the Gospel proper mentions only appearances in Jerusalem, yet its author was aware both that Christ had appeared to his disciples in Galilee, and that the manifestation in Galilee was preceded by two appearances to them in Jerusalem. (3) There is no tradition which necessarily confines our Lord's appearances to Galilee; Matt. xxviii. 9, 10, which records an appearance to women in Jerusalem, is not an interpolation, and although Mark xvi. 7 may imply that the Evangelist intended to narrate an important appearance in Galilee, it does not follow that he intended to narrate that only, nor that he knew nothing of any appearance in Jerusalem. (4) The omission of any appearances in Galilee from Luke's narratives both in the Gospel and in the Acts is most simply explained by supposing that he had no exact information about them; it is not a fair inference from his silence that no place can be found for them in either of his narratives, for the events of Luke xxiv. cannot be crowded into a single day and there is room enough for the appearances in Galilee during the forty days mentioned in Acts. (6) Perhaps the most convincing part of Loofs' able pamphlet is the section in which he deals with the testimony of St Paul in

1 Cor. xv. 3-8, and Riggenbach is in essential agreement with Loofs' results. For one or two of the appearances mentioned by Paul there is no other tradition, and on the other hand, he does not record four or five that are narrated in the Gospels; but these latter are not to be treated as unhistorical because of Paul's silence, although this hasty assumption is too often made. Paul was dependent on others for his information and he may have remained in ignorance of many things which were well known to the members of the Church in Jerusalem. Besides, most of the appearances not mentioned by Paul are of a more or less private character; such emphatically are the appearance to the two travellers to Emmaus and the second appearance to the twelve when Thomas was present; Paul may, however, have intentionally omitted the appearance to Mary Magdalene and preferred to begin his list with the appearance to Peter, because he was one of the chosen witnesses of the Resurrection; the omission of any reference to the narrative in John xxi. is more difficult to explain, but the probable reason is that Christ's manifestation of Himself to seven disciples was thrown into the background by His appearance to "above five hundred brethren at once."

This thoughtful and well-reasoned essay deserves the attention of all students of the Gospel; it does not claim to leave no questions still open but to have vindicated the right of our New Testament Sources to be regarded as, in the main, a consistent and thoroughly trustworthy account of the course of events.

V. A short paper on "Protestant Church Discipline" by Lic. Lauterburg shows that the Lutheran and Reformed Churches hold different theories on this subject, the latter regarding Church discipline positively, as a training of church members in the Christian life, the latter regarding it negatively, as a guarding of the treasures of the Church from those who are unworthy to partake of them. The following subjects amongst others, are dealt with: the exclusion of unworthy communicants from the table of the Lord; the relation between Church discipline and civil law; the abuses of Church discipline, as when an ecclesiastical ban has been assumed to imply the condemnation of the Lord, or an ecclesiastical penalty has involved an unchristian respecting of persons—for example, the visiting of breaches of the seventh commandment on the guilty woman alone.

VI. Pfarrer Wilhelm Schlatter's essay on "The Biblical Conception of Grace" is a suggestive word-study, in which he carefully discriminates between the ideas expressed by חֶסֶד in the Old Testament, and by χάρις in the New. The two words have the same centre, but their circumferences do not coincide; חֶסֶד is the wider

of two concentric circles, for whilst *χάρις* under Christian influences is exalted in the New Testament to express an almost exclusively religious conception, *חֶסֶד* in the Old Testament is used to describe human conduct and character. New light is cast upon many passages of Scripture as the shades of meaning expressed by these two words are classified; two particularly valuable sections deal respectively with the Old Testament combination of 'grace' and 'righteousness,' and with the New Testament combination of 'grace' and 'faith.' "Grace is not pity which is aroused by the sight of misery, nor love which chooses the objects to which it is attracted; such pity and such love are emotions of the human heart, but grace is an attribute of God alone—it is the distinguishing characteristic of the Divine Love."

VII. In the longest article in the volume, Dr Boehmer studies the prophecies of Isaiah in their chronological order, and has no difficulty in proving that modern criticism has brought out more clearly the great truths which were the main themes of the prophet's preaching. When each discourse is placed in its true historical setting a development of ideas may be traced, and it becomes evident that there is an underlying unity in Isaiah's various conceptions of the glorious salvation it is his mission to proclaim. In great detail Dr Boehmer expounds Isaiah's descriptions of the Messiah's personality and the blessings of His rule, and there is both force and freshness in his treatment of a subject upon which much has been said, and said well, in recent years.

VIII. The old problem of 'The Purpose of the Acts of the Apostles,' as distinguished from the modern problem of its 'Sources,' is raised by Lic. Hadorn in an essay which reveals extensive reading and independent thought, but which makes no reference to English authors, not even to Lightfoot and Ramsay. Wendt and Weiss are right when, in opposition to the 'tendency theories' advocated by writers of the Tübingen school, they emphasise the practical purpose of the book; they are wrong in representing the author's gaze as continually turned on the geographical details of the spread of Christianity—his eye is ever fixed on Christ. The purpose of the Acts is neither political nor ecclesiastical, neither purely historical nor merely edificatory, it is specifically Christological—the design of Luke is to describe the work of the exalted Saviour. On this point there is absolute agreement in narratives which are supposed by many critics to be traceable to very different sources. Apart from his opinions on matters of detail—as for example, that the simple (?) solution of the problem of the speaking with Tongues is, that on the day of Pentecost the Apostles spoke Greek—there are many helpful suggestions in

Hadorn's exposition of a theory which is not unfamiliar to those whose reading includes English as well as German commentaries.

IX. Pfarrer Kuhn contributes an "Exposition of Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii.," which is regarded as a description of the judgment of the world, and not of any single land. The genuineness of the prophecy is taken for granted, the arguments of von Orelli and W. E. Barnes being held to be conclusive.

X. "Preparation for the Ministry in the Scottish Churches" is the title of a well-informed, sympathetic, and eulogistic article by Pfarrer Martin Locher of Lucerne. The Churches to which reference is made are the Established Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian Church. The career of a student for the ministry is traced from his three or four years' course at the university to his ordination. In his account of the Divinity Halls the writer shows that he is familiar with the details of a student's life in and out of college, as well as with the characteristics of the teaching of many of the professors. In a section which deals with other 'Educational influences,' the Foreign Theological Library, the Cunningham Lectures, the *Critical Review*, and the *Expositor*, are mentioned with high praise, as proofs of the interest with which the tendencies of theological thought in Germany are followed; Dr Alexander Whyte's Sunday evening services are also graphically sketched, he himself being described as a type of the *perfidum ingenium Scotorum*. One extract will suffice to show the spirit which breathes throughout this interesting article: "In opposition to the Episcopalians the Presbyterians attach great importance to a due representation of the laity in the Church, and in their conception of the ministry all priestly assumption is emphatically repudiated; but does this imply that they undervalue the office of a minister or think lightly of the conditions which are essential to a successful ministry? By no means. On the contrary, the reason why they attach so high a value to the careful and thorough education of students for the ministry is that they believe intellectual and spiritual gifts alone can qualify a man for the sacred office and that they hold no Romish or High Anglican views as to the magic effect of Ordination by the Bishop."

XI. Pfarrer Linder investigates one aspect of the many-sided problem of "The Theology of the Book of Job." Recognising that the book deals primarily with problems of life and especially with the problem of suffering, the essayist confines his study to its doctrine of God. In the controversy between Job and his friends, the error common to both parties in the dispute—the *πρῶτον ψευδός*—is the assumption that suffering such as Job's must be a sign of the Divine displeasure. As this doctrine is not learnt in the school of experience, the fact that it was common ground in this

argument is one of many proofs that the universal conscience of man bears witness to the righteousness of God. At first Job takes a lower view of God than his accusers, contending that if his suffering be punishment, then God punishes the innocent and cannot be righteous; but in his later speeches he maintains that belief in a righteous and loving God does not rest upon what we now see of the punishment of vice and the reward of virtue. The limitations of the teaching of this book are the limitations of the Old Testament; if it is silent on some questions, it is silent because the only answer to them is in Christ.

J. G. TASKER.

Truth and Error : or the Science of Intellection.

By J. W. Powell. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1898. Pp. vii. 428. Price, 7s. 6d.

ALTHOUGH his name may be unfamiliar in Great Britain, save to a few specialists, the author of this work has occupied, and still holds, important scientific positions under the Government of the United States. At one time Director of the United States Geological Survey, Major J. W. Powell is now Director of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology. Were Sir Archibald Geikie, the Librarian of the India Office or other civil servant suddenly to break into the field of metaphysics with a book based largely on his scientific experience or ethnological lore, we would have a parallel to this volume.

But, apart altogether from the official position of its author, or from his standing as a geologist or anthropologist, "Truth and Error" must be viewed as a noteworthy performance. No doubt, it is open to obvious, and most serious, objection on several grounds. One might easily make game of its serried phalanxes of new, and often uncouth, terms, as of its lavish use of well-worn words in unfamiliar senses. Without carping, and without unfair selection, one could point to an abounding ignorance (possibly it is misapprehension) of the history of Philosophy, as well as to a curious unconsciousness on the author's part of the true reasons for the faith that is in him. Similarly a certain naïve dogmatism—"I hold," "I deny," "I cannot," "I can," "I do," "I think," and so on—offers an enticing mark to the critic, while it would be a simple matter to adopt an attitude of lofty contempt towards some references to a vaguely outlined ideal of "a purified science of God, immortality, and freedom." These defects, like several others, lie so open, so invitingly open, on the surface, that they are sure to catch the critical

eye, and mayhap, to elicit a lop-sided estimate of the book. It may be well, therefore, to pass them over with mere mention, and to come to an understanding with ourselves, why, in spite of them, the work is distinctly noteworthy.

In the first place, then, Mr Powell represents a most interesting, and possibly fruitful movement; one too which has gone further in the United States than in Great Britain so far as I am capable of judging. Scientific men here seem to be turning their attention to philosophy rapidly, or, if not to technical philosophy, then to the metaphysical problems that lie embedded in the presuppositions, language and results of the positive sciences. One or two British exponents of this tendency might be mentioned, but in the United States it has crystallised to some extent, thanks in a measure to the sedulous cultivation of experimental psychology, which has now passed the stages of fashion and fanaticism, and is beginning to find its real bearings. While Mr Powell does not say so, there can be little doubt that this awakened consciousness of unsolved, even unsuspected problems, implies a metaphysical renaissance, and this at no very distant date. To some such revivification "*Truth and Error*" bears clear witness.

In the second place, and complementary to what has just been said, the work indicates an altered attitude on the part of philosophers towards their material. In the Cartesian period, closed by Hume, one can trace everywhere the potent influence of the mathematico-physical sciences, and of the attendant dualism consequent upon continual statement in terms of the spatial analogy. Analysis, separation, molar bodies conceived to be merely standing alongside each other, dominate the directions and conclusions of systematic thinking. And even in the Kantian *interregnum* something more than a remnant of these subtly persuasive categories maintains the spell so often exercised by the dead hand. With the great post-Kantians the scene suddenly changes. The human sciences—religion, history, jurisprudence, anthropology, æsthetics, ethics—furnish the philosophers with the indispensable springboard; and this fresh departure accounts, not only for the intense vitality and attractiveness of Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, but also for their chief limitations, as some now begin to perceive. For, seeing that man is still dealt with as if he were exceptional, or the object of God's peculiar favour, these sciences cannot be called truly scientific as yet—they had hardly even entered upon their natural history stage. During the last two generations the rise, spread, and organisation of the biological sciences have mediated all this; nay, for a little, thinkers happen to have been swept off their feet by that mockery, a *mechanical biology*, just as Schelling was submerged by a *spiritual natural philosophy*. At present this is

daily becoming more plain, and we are in the midst, not of a reaction, as some bemuddled obscurantists fondly suppose, but of a reconstruction of biological *data* under the influence of the humanities so-called, as of the humanities in the light of biological conclusions. I do not think that Mr Powell is fully conscious of this; nevertheless his book everywhere indicates the presence, pressure and power of the newer outlook.

Lastly, the consequences and embodiment of the shaking of dry bones reviewed above are to be seen in Mr Powell's thoroughly modern point of view. He does not fill his belly with the husks that the swine did eat, as so many of his fellows appear to be doing, and this in the midst of unexampled plenty. But he formulates, if not a system, then a series of suggestive proposals which, if present indications count for aught, will have to be reckoned with during the next twenty years. "Causations are processes, and one abstract process cannot exist without the concomitant processes—that is, there can be no processes of causation without processes of force, form and kind, together with processes of mind. . . . The study of incorporation and reincorporation is evolution from the standpoint of causation, which in turn is the study of time. . . . Directed changes in position lead to incorporation, then incorporation is succeeded by reincorporation, and the totality of these changes is the totality of evolution" (187). Some foolish or feeble persons call this Materialism, and take to flight incontinently. A few partizans, who ought to know better, dub it Monism and, with upturned eyes, pass by on the other side. While Mr Powell himself in one place (95) seems to acquiesce in the label Hylozoism, although elsewhere (415) he so interprets this name as to render it meaningless. Hylopsychism it may be, I prefer to call it Panentheism, if we must indulge in baptism. Be this as it may, the theory implies a reinterpretation of Relationism, one as positive as Mr F. H. Bradley's was evasive, and yet, at the time, necessary.

For these reasons, therefore, "Truth and Error" cannot but be regarded as a noteworthy contribution, despite its abounding limitations. Possibly, too, it were the better wisdom not to insist overmuch upon these limitations, seeing that this is a pioneer work, and represents the reflections of a man who suddenly finds himself in a strange land, but the land of the future—of a kind. For these reasons also, I for one await with quickened interest Mr Powell's two promised volumes on the Theory of Cognition and on Psychology.

As has been hinted, the work ought to be regarded as a series of suggestions. Consequently, it is difficult to present a conspectus of it, even although chapters iii.-vii., ix.-xiii., and xx.-xxiv., constitute well-defined groups; and this I shall not attempt meantime, prefer-

ring rather to leave the readers of the *Critical Review* to pass their several judgments upon it; and with the warning that such system as the book presents is impossible, as anybody who will compare its analyses with those in Professor Ward's masterly "Naturalism and Agnosticism" will readily infer.

But, seeing that we are at the task of criticism as well as enjoying the pleasures of appreciation, it may be apposite to conclude with some notice of a few lapses. The entire conception of Metaphysics (curiously the book is a metaphysic) is crude and philistine (*e.g.*, 127, 150, 184). When Mr Powell employs the term he stands in his own light by restricting its meaning to that "metaphysicising" popular in the middle ages, of which Mr Spencer is the contemporary protagonist, and to which orthodox theologians still lean—so do extremes meet in various ways. On p. 101 "properties" are called "secondary qualities," while on the next page they are classed as "primary," both in the Lockian sense. Epistemology is misspelt epistemology all through—if intentionally, a most misleading usage. The idea that the universe as a "pentalogic system" accounts for the wide use of decimal ciphering (112) seems to be quite fantastic. The criticism of Hegel (107) must be called unfortunate, seeing that on p. 115 (second paragraph from the foot) Mr Powell sets forth with entire approval precisely what Hegel did. The inference from the hallucination "census" of the Society of Psychical Research (315)—"it is probable there is no person who has not experienced them"—appears a very random shot in view of the facts. Finally, many will want to know what a "turkis egg" (289) is, and the same persons will doubtless be glad if, in future books, Mr Powell will purge his pages of some analogous orthographic vagaries. Being pure provincialisms, they are unworthy of an educated man. It ought to be said also that the index is worse than useless; and that there are very few footnotes, whereas in some places they seem all too necessary.

R. M. WENLEY.

Morality as a Religion, an Exposition of Some First Principles.

By W. R. Washington Sullivan. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 1898. Pp. vii. 296. Price, 6s.

DESPITE the explanatory clause attached to the title, this cannot be called a treatise on systematic ethics. Without injustice, one might characterise it as a collection of lay-sermons; and add, this time with some injustice, that the same old "cockshies" receive the unmerciful battering, and that the same vague "immensities" are wretched

in clouds of "sentimentising" incense. With some injustice, I say, because, although the book lapses into not a few inconsequences, and even contradictions, it contains numerous pronouncements with which every good man must be in heartiest accord.

It may be inferred that these discourses were delivered before the Ethical Religion Society, which meets weekly on Sundays at Steinway Hall, London. The author summarises their purpose with sufficient distinctness in the preface. "The present volume is a plea for a reconsideration of the Religious question, and an inquiry as to the possibility of reconstructing Religion by shifting its basis from inscrutable dogmas to the unquestionable facts of man's moral nature. . . . The volume is altogether of an introductory character, and merely aims at conveying the central truth of Ethical Religion expressed by Immanuel Kant in the well-known words—Religion is Morality recognised as a Divine command. Morality is the foundation. Religion only adds the new and commanding point of view" (iii. vi.). All this is familiar enough, and it ought to be said at once that the peculiar interest of the book centres in the naïve manner in which it delineates the maze so characteristic of contemporary ethical theory, and in the unconscious blundering into many an open pitfall. This may be illustrated by a few extracts. "I affix my two humble propositions to the postern of the ethical church, namely, first, that, 'In the beginning was Mind;' and next, that the moral law is the highest expression of that Mind. . . . This is essential Kantism. . . . Not ethics, then, from theism, but theism from ethics. Not morality from God, but God is known from and through morality" (38, 39); yet, "the *instinct* of humanity is with us, that instinct which commands a man to live for the right, and instinct does not err" (44). Is there no difference between Mind and instinct? Again, "I think it advisable to remark that Kant's title to philosophical immortality rests upon his constructive work as an ethicist, and not on his critical work as a speculative thinker" (64, 65); and yet "consciousness is a psychological expression, while conscience is ethical. Nevertheless, it must be most carefully remembered that the two functions are performed by one and the same reason;" (91); and yet "there is no irreconcilable opposition between the ethical religion of Kant and the Religion of Humanity of Comte" (195). How are such pronouncements to be unified? Once more, "I suppose it is needless to point out the dogma of the resurrection of the body, insisted upon by all the Christian Churches, is a blank impossibility" (73, 74); nevertheless, "the one changeless thing, beyond the doom of sun-stars and swarms of worlds, is the will of man nobly submissive to the Great Obedience of the Supreme Law—the Law of Justice and Truth" (144, 145); and "He hath made

earth's peoples to be healed; they shall redeem *themselves* one day" (156). Finally, "Kant and Comte will be found to be, after Christ, the master builders of the second temple" (207); yet, "the only true commentator on Jesus and his religion is Immanuel Kant" (282). Despite the random sayings, of which these give one an idea, Mr Sullivan's heart is in the right place. He has excellent chapters on Priests and Prophets, the Ethical Aspect of War, the Ethics of Marriage, and on "Helbeck of Bannisdale." Others are very far from being so good, and one encounters a deal of vague stuff of the kind that seems to be the special property of the ethical culturists when they attempt construction. "The Good in man, that is God; that alone is worthy of our adoration and our love" (286; cf. 94, 139, 191, 276). Of course, all this looks and sounds very fine; but then it cannot be called war. And we are forced to conclude that its author, though full of the poetising instinct, can scarcely be classed as a systematic thinker.

This is the more unfortunate that ethical theory happens to be in a sadly tangled condition at the moment. "Morality as a Religion" serves a purpose, however, for it reflects certain conspicuous difficulties very plainly. As a matter of sober fact we cannot point to any marked ethical stream just now, but eddies swirl around in plenty. Supranaturalism, rationalism, naturalism, idealism and the rest, are all causing commotions after their kind. The task of the hour would seem to be that of giving each its place in a fresh synthesis. On the whole, even our prominent specialists tend to emphasize one element at the expense of the others. And Mr Sullivan need not be treated too harshly because he has followed the lead of some who are held for masters, although he does not press the argument from authority (40). He rules out supranaturalism altogether; in other words, cancels the influence of religion. In this connection he might do well to repose on authority a little more, and ponder what Paulsen says in his *Ethik* and Pfleiderer in the *American Journal of Theology* (April 1899). Mr Sullivan poses as a rationalist, but the pressure of the age forces him to make peace with naturalism, even in moments when his rationalism, thanks to admiration of Emerson, has transformed itself into mysticism. On the whole, it is a thousand pities that aspiration so admirable should bear its burden only to find itself baulked at the last in *cul-de-sac*. The work ends thus because of the attempt to found on so-called facts of an abstract moral life which has no existence. To tell us that morality provides the only foundation for religion, and then to declare substantially that morality is to be summed in the maxim, "You are told to do what you are told to do," were surely the height of ineffectual calling.

R. M. WENLEY.

The Trial of Jesus Christ : A Legal Monograph.

*By A. Taylor Innes, Advocate. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1899.
Cr. 8vo, pp. 123. Price, 2s. 6d.*

THIS deeply interesting study supplies a "felt want" in English literature. The central event of history is reckoned by all Christians and by the majority of civilised men to be the death of that comparatively young Jew, by name Jesus, whose serene and blameless life was closed after a double trial and a double condemnation in circumstances which have ever since riveted the attention of mankind. Yet around that event the emotions of men and women have so gathered, and the energies of scholars have been expended in commentaries—doctrinal, theological and historical—to such a vast extent, that the realism of a juridical study of

"The deep damnation of His taking off"

must give us pause and make us grateful. Nor are we sure that a more competent investigator could have been named for this task than the painstaking and powerful historical student whose work on Church and State, still too little known, is the best on its subject in our language.

With the major part of Mr Innes' treatment of his theme we agree : on several minor parts we with much diffidence differ. We think, for instance, that on the point of why there was a double trial—the question, viz., of the conflict or apparent conflict of the Jewish and Roman jurisdictions—he is unnecessarily complex in his statement. The truth of the matter seems simply to be this. The politics of Rome with regard to kingdoms like Carthage and Judea were as different as night from day. In the one case a strong, half savage, military and rival power had to be torn up by the roots amid circumstances that destroyed the patriotic memories of the inhabitants or swept the inhabitants themselves from the face of the earth. In the other case, a weak, intelligent, peaceably-disposed and industrious people were annexed with comparative immunity from slaughter, and with only so much pressure of the Imperial heel as would make the mark of Empire among a nation whose self-government and local institutions might continue consistently with central authority and indeed might themselves become a useful annexe to the administration of Rome.

How far, in the sphere of criminal law, local jurisdiction and executive power should extend—that lay with Rome. In the case of a proud and ancient people, still wholly theocratic in political sentiment, it would be idle to expect that they would deny themselves the forms of judicial trial ; but it is proved that the Jewish

authorities themselves acknowledged the limits of their power at the line of life or death. While accordingly they had the offer of Pilate, "take Him yourselves and judge Him according to your law," and while they might grumble that "by our law He ought to die," they had yet to invoke the awful sanction of the Cross from the hated dominant power. "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death."

The real infamy of the Hebrew trial lay in this that, in its course, the prisoner Jesus—notably at one conspicuous point—should have stood acquitted; and that nevertheless, in its culmination, the whole Hebrew people from its High Priest downwards were made to stand petitioners for death.

From beginning to end the Hebrew proceeding reeks of illegality. It was a trial by night: that was unlawful. It was a trial continued into Passover morning: that was unlawful. But these were Jewish rules. All civilised jurisprudence, however, knows the result when witnesses "agree not together": and if the Jews had any specialty to plead, it was the strength of their legal scruples on that head: justice, Hebrew, world-wide, legal, simple justice demanded the liberation of the accused. He was not liberated: that was unlawful. Then suddenly on a charge of blasphemy, never previously formulated distinctly, he was examined and made a statement; garments were rent with the accustomed forms of horror, and on his own statement he was condemned. To condemn on the statement of the accused: that also was by Hebrew law, it seems, unlawful. All this we have stated in bold and blank and set disregard of every syllable which Christ uttered during the trial being true, so as to examine with rigour the purely judicial problem. So viewed, this trial of Jesus Christ surpasses all other recorded trials as an assize of outrage. Napoleon's masterpiece of crime, the judicial murder of the Duc d'Enghien, approaches it most nearly: suddenly, by night, and by a tribunal set on death. The excesses of the Revolutionary tribunal and the Committee of Safety, ten years earlier were not strictly comparable; they were of a different type; their violence was brutality, without finesse.

What, now, of the Roman trial? The need of the book under review is manifest in this, that the literature of England does contain one great and notable deliverance by a well-known jurist, and that deliverance is a masterly perversion of sound opinion on the facts as they stand recorded. We refer to Sir James Fitzjames Stephen's treatment of the topic in his "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Sir James' view is that the case was one of social order, and that in that cause this sacrifice of life was justified: *ergo*, Pontius Pilate was a just judge. It is wholly wrong. The case was not one of social order. It was one in which the accusers

who had condemned the prisoner for blasphemy against God, transmuted the charge to sedition against Caesar, in that the accused had called himself a king. So far with Sir James. But what followed? Pilate had his examination of the man, and there ensued that extraordinary revelation of kingship indeed, but over a kingdom not of this world—a kingdom therefore not in earthly rivalry nor armed with earthly weapons—which so impressed Pilate that he found the charge not only unproved but disproved: Jesus is a “just man”: “I find no fault in Him.” By what travesty of truth can it be made to appear that that judge was just, who, after announcing a verdict of acquittal, handed over the innocent man for execution to those who had delivered him “for envy” and were clamouring for his blood? On this issue, as we have said, Mr Innes has rendered real and sound service.

It is not to the point to urge that Pilate was a coward, a shuffler, a shifty hypocrite who practised openly the make-believe of washing his hands of the innocent blood. So he was, no doubt. But he was a coward, armed with the power of Rome—a power against which all the wrath of Judea was but as the ripple on the Great Sea. And so it is that, not to a coward merely, but to this unjust judge, Rome owes its share in that eternal infamy; and so it was that under the sanction of the Procurator of Tiberias the blessed hands and feet were nailed to the accursed tree by the soldiers of Rome, and the broken heart of the Saviour of mankind was pierced by a Roman spear.

These are but examples of the problems handled in this book—a book which we earnestly commend, for its carefulness and power and for its commanding interest.

THOS. SHAW.

Reconciliation by Incarnation: The Reconciliation of God and Man by the Incarnation of the Divine Word.

By D. W. Simon, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898.

Pp. xxiii. 387. Price, 7s. 6d.

MUCH interest attaches to this mature and elaborate discussion by the able and learned Principal of the United College, Bradford, of a subject to which he has devoted the study and enthusiasm of a specialist. His earlier work, *The Redemption of Man: Discussions bearing on the Atonement*, did not profess to be a complete treatise on the doctrine, which in it was “rather approached from various points of view, than rigidly and systematically expounded.” It consisted of a series of essays bound together by their common reference, and brought into line by means of a historical introduction. There is, in fact, more of *history* in the former volume, *e.g.*

chap. iv. : "Hebrew Sin-offerings, with Ethic Parallels," and chap. x. : "The Historical Influence of the Death of Christ," than in the present one. So far it may be regarded, therefore, as not only preparing the way for the present work, but as supplying, to some extent, the materials on which the latter is based. The scarcity of footnotes and references in this as compared with the former volume is an indication of the difference. Yet it must be said that Dr Simon is at pains to give his argument a base at once broadly and deeply laid. The strength of the book as a monograph, in which it compares favourably with many other doctrinal monographs which might be named, is that an attempt is made to begin at the beginning, to avoid building in the air, the author's view being founded upon a carefully constructed and no less carefully expounded cosmology. He explains what he takes to be the fundamental principles of existence, and the relations of matter, energy, and idea within the universe. Starting from such considerations of universal import, his object is to show the nature of reconciliation between God and man, and how, in promoting it, the incarnation is both indispensable and effectual. This, we have said, is the strength of the book ; it is perhaps, also its weakness ; for it is obvious that, in so far as the cosmology expounded fails to commend itself to anyone, the argument based upon it becomes less convincing.

The author begins by distinguishing three phases or stages of redemption,—first, reconciliation of God and man ; second, liberation from sin and restoration to righteousness ; and, third, deliverance from evil and entrance into good. The first of these is the subject of the work before us, and if followed up by equally elaborate treatises on the other two, the result will be a work both of magnitude and value on its important theme.

The elements of the discussion are found first in the distinction between the two natural or normal relations of God to man,—that He stands at once in a personal relation, that of Spirit to spirit, of individuality to individuality, and in a vital or bio-dynamic relation, as the sustainer of man's life in all its manifestations, the environment in which, spiritually as well as bodily, he lives and moves and has his being : and, further, that the relations between God and man are complicated by being no longer normal, by having become abnormal. It is, of course, the abnormality which sin has introduced that gives rise to the necessity for reconciliation. It is the personal relation which this chiefly affects, but it produces a curious inconsistency, an apparent incompatibility, between the personal and the cosmical relations of God to man. The latter has an independence of the former which seems to bar the way to reconciliation. By what means can God bridge the gulf which,

though the result of sin, is maintained and, as it were, guaranteed by the Divinely instituted laws of the universe itself? The various methods which God has pursued in order to win back humanity without violating these laws are described, and the reasons indicated of their insufficiency and relative failure. The problem thus raised is one the solution of which is to be found in the incarnation. What could not be effected from without, is thereby effected from within. The relation of the Logos to the world as well as to God, the relation of Christ to humanity, enables the Son of God to bring together the Divine and human, to fulfil what have been found to be the necessary conditions of reconciliation, and especially to be a fountain of life, of renewed moral energy, to humanity in its alienation and corruption.

In the course of this exposition many points interesting in themselves, as well as from their place in the argument, are passed under review. On these opinions will differ widely, but Dr Simon's presentation of them will repay careful consideration even on the part of those who reject the conclusions to which he comes. It is frequently marked by eloquence, and illustrated by appropriate quotations. We may refer to such remarks as those on the results of the Fall,—as to which a *caveat* is entered against current misconceptions,—on the "evil results for God" of the abnormal personal relation of man to God, and on the Divine self-limitation. The last is an important subject, to the far-reaching significance of which due attention has perhaps not yet been given. Many suggestive definitions also are to be found in these pages: for example, "Self-condemnation from God's point of view, and grief for the grief of God, constitute what Scripture understands by repentance" (p. 193).

The unity of this book, due to the way in which it reflects the individuality of the writer's thinking,—for every page bears evidence of that wrestling with a problem, as of one determined to reach its secret, which is the highest merit of work of this kind,—makes it not always easy reading. The student must, indeed, first think himself into the author's point of view, and appreciate, as it were, his special method, before the force of the argument can be fully grasped. In this respect, the book bears a resemblance to that on the same subject by M'Leod Campbell, with many of whose positions Dr Simon is in sympathy, and from whom he has obviously learned much. But whatever stimulus Dr Simon has received from any quarter, he is a follower, in an exclusive sense, of no man, but by this fresh example of patient and vigorous thinking, has approved himself a master in this department, and given us a volume which must be pronounced an important contribution to British Theology.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

Notices.

In his *Instructions on the Revelation of St John the Divine*¹ Canon Strange's object is to make the Apocalypse "more intelligible to the ordinary reader and so to encourage the study of it." His idea is that the book may be regarded as an extended account of our Lord's discourses on the four last things, and that it is a book "for all time," its contents not being satisfied by "any theory which limited it to mere history, to the dynasties of the world, or to the delineations of the papacy." There is much truth of course in this, but the statement is neither sufficiently precise nor adequate of itself to meet the whole case. The writer, indeed, sees that the book must be adjusted to the times in which it was produced, and must be read in the light of current Jewish ideas as reflected in the copious Apocalyptic literature of Judaism. He prefaces his exposition by an Introduction adapted from Eberhard Vischer's *Die Offenbarung Johannis*. He appears to favour Vischer and Harnack's theory, that the book is the work of a Christian writer who used to a considerable extent previously existing Jewish matter. But while he seems to admit that the book had the way prepared for it by the Jewish Apocalypses and even owed its origin to them, he does not make the use that we should expect of the contents of these books in explaining the visions of John, nor does he follow the historical method consistently and throughout. This is most felt in what is said of the most difficult passages. In ch. xiii., e.g. the problem of the number 666 is scarcely approached. So far as any preference is indicated it would seem to be for Godet's explanation; the cypher $\chi\epsilon\sigma$, as it is given in the Greek text, being taken to show in its first and third letters "the abbreviation of the name of Christ," while the middle letter is thought to be the "emblem of the serpent, the enemy of Christ." The paragraph on the thousand years' reign in ch. xx. is dealt with in a very peculiar way. The passage is understood to teach that in the millennium there will be "a regeneration of nations with another loss of Satanic influence such as took place, in measure, when paganism gave way to Christianity"; and that afterwards there will be a "yet further regeneration with the complete destruction of evil in the new heavens and the new earth."

But if the scientific student may not get much to help him in these *Instructions*, the preacher will fare better. And it is but just to say that the author makes no claim to "deep scholarship," and does not profess to give a scientific exposition. He has written

¹ By Rev. Cresswell Strange, M.A., Late Scholar of Pembroke College, Oxford, Vicar of Edgbaston, and Honorary Canon of Worcester. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix. 331. Price, 6s.

with a view to the practical needs of his people, and he has done that well. His book contains much that may give a large class of readers a new interest in the Revelation of St John. It abounds in ideas, tersely and suggestively expressed, which should quicken devout thought and help the religious life.

In the year 1891 the Royal Prussian Academy of the Sciences undertook the preparation of a new critical edition of early Greek Christian literature. For this purpose it appointed a Commission, consisting of Messrs Diels, Dillmann, von Gebhardt, Harnack, Loofs, and Mommsen; of whom alas! the great Dillmann is no longer with us. The work is to be carried out by help of the Wentzel-Stiftung, and it is to be of a very comprehensive order. It is to embrace all Greek writings and documents of every kind which have any relation to primitive Christianity and the rising Catholic Church in Constantine's time. It is to give these in critical editions. It is to occupy some fifty large volumes, and will be completed, it is hoped, in about twenty years. The New Testament books are not to be included. But everything else that bears in any way upon the object of the series is to be embraced. So large is the plan that not only do all the Apocryphal Gospels and Apostolic writings of the first three centuries fall within its compass, but all those late Jewish books (Apocalypses, Sibylline writings, etc.) which were received and in part used or worked up by the oldest Christian writers. And translations are to be taken where the Greek originals are wanting. Historical Introductions, Indices, and a full apparatus are to be furnished.

It is a vast undertaking, and one of great importance. It should do much both for historical studies and for the textual criticism of the New Testament. And it has already made some progress. Three volumes are now before us, one of *Hippolytus*,¹ and two of *Origen*.² The first volume of this edition of *Hippolytus* has been prepared by Dr G. Nath. Bonwetsch, Professor of Theology in the University of Göttingen, and Dr Hans Achelis, Privatdocent in the same University. It is occupied with the Exegetical and Homiletical writings of the schismatical Bishop of Rome, and is divided into two parts. The first half contains the commentaries on *Daniel* and the *Song of Songs*, which are edited by Professor Bonwetsch. In the second half the smaller exegetical and homi-

¹ Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Herausgegeben von der Kirchenväter—Commission der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Hippolytus, Erster Band. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1897, Lex., 8vo, pp. xxviii. 374 and pp. x. 309. Price M.18.

² Origenes, Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899, Lex., 8vo. Erster Band, pp. xcii. 374. Zweiter Band, pp. 545. Price M.28.

letical writings are collected, not omitting the most fragmentary. Dr Achelis is responsible for this peculiarly difficult section. Both editors have very special qualifications for their tasks, having worked long and carefully on *Hippolytus*. German translations are provided; variations in the texts are noted with all needful fulness and precision; references to passages of Scripture and quotations of such are indicated; and all the information which studious research has been able to gather on the questions connected with the several writings, their manuscripts, their history, etc., is placed at our service in the ample Introductions. The work is executed with characteristic German thoroughness and patience. The text of the Commentary on *Daniel* is constructed on the basis of all the extant Greek MSS. (all incomplete), an Old Slavic version, some Syriac fragments gathered from different quarters, and passages in the Catenae and other ancient writings. Much of the Commentary on the *Song of Songs* is pronounced spurious. What remains, even with the help of a few Syriac fragments, is very little. The section from ch. i. 5 to ch. v. 1 is given also in Armenian, but its genuineness is doubted. In his particular division Dr Achelis gives first his edition of the treatise *De Antichristo*, for the text of which only two manuscripts have been available hitherto, those of Evreux and Rheims, both very late, and the one so near akin to the other that they are rather one authority than two. For the new edition the older and superior text of the Jerusalem manuscript and the Slavic translation are also used. This is followed by a long series of fragments of writings ascribed to Hippolytus—on Genesis, Ruth, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Ezekiel, etc.; as also on the Resurrection and Immortality, the Theophany, the End of the World, etc. These are gathered from many sources,—Leontius, Jerome, Theodoret, Anastasius Sinaita, manuscripts from Mount Athos, the Vatican, etc. Much of this matter, however, is pronounced to be spurious. About a third of what professes to be the Commentary of Hippolytus on Genesis is rejected; nearly a fifth of the Commentary on the Psalms; one half of that on Proverbs; and almost the whole of the fifty passages on Ezekiel. The works on Daniel and Antichrist are the most interesting parts of the volume. Among other things we understand better by this edition to what extent Hippolytus was an allegorist.

The two volumes of *Origen* are edited by Professor Paul Koetschau of Jena. They embrace the *Martyrium*, the *Contra Celsum*, and the treatise on *Prayer*. They are furnished with copious indices of quotations, words, and matters, which will be of much use. The contents of these two volumes are of great value. The *εἰς μαρτύριον προτρεπτικός* is very carefully dealt with.

The evidence is given which warrants us in speaking with certainty of Caesarea Palestina as the place where the *Exhortation* was written. With Neumann Dr Koetschau takes the year 235 to be the date of its composition, and shows how the work itself indicates that it was written at the *beginning* of the short persecution which took place at the commencement of Maximin's reign. The treatise on *Prayer* is referred to the year 233-234. It is admitted, however, that on all that relates to the origin of this writing we can speak at the best only of probabilities. The interest of scholars will turn most of all to the *Eight Books against Celsus*, and we owe much to Dr Koetschau for this splendid edition of a work of the greatest importance in several distinct points of view. The services of K. J. Neumann in the investigation of the historical questions are handsomely recognised. The year 248 A.D. is accepted as the date of composition, Origen being then over sixty years of age. Caesarea Palestina is held consequently to be the place of writing. The importance of the work—both as the best of the Apologies, and as the ripest fruit of Origen's genius, is ably affirmed, and instructive chapters are given on the great Alexandrian's acquaintance with Greek literature, both classical and Christian, his attitude to Greek philosophy, his knowledge and use of the Bible, etc. There is a valuable statement, too, of his theological system—his idea of theology, his doctrines of God, the *Logos*, the relation of Christ the Son to God the Father, creation, evil, the Resurrection, and the things of the end. Students now possess an edition of this notable Apology which is *critical* in the best sense of the word. The whole undertaking is an honour to German enterprise and scholarship.

In this connexion we notice also the publication of a reply by Professor Koetschau, under the title of *Kritische Bemerkungen zu meiner Ausgabe von Origenes' Exhortatio, Contra Celsum, De Oratione*,¹ to certain criticisms by Dr Paul Wendland.

*The Culture of Christian Manhood*² is the title given to a collection of sixteen sermons preached in Battell Chapel, Yale University, by a number of select preachers. They are admirable discourses, some of them particularly so. Attention may be directed to those by Dr C. Cuthbert Hall on *Selected Lives*, Dr Amory H. Bradford on *Personality*, Dr George A. Gordon on the *Evolution of a Thinker*, Dr George Harris on *Christ seeking the Lost*, Dr Henry van Dyke on the *Meaning of Manhood*, Dr George T. Purves on the *Sinless One*. And there are others that read well, and must have been effective when delivered from the pulpit.

¹ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899. 8vo, pp. 82.

² Edited by William H. Sallmon. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 309. Price, 3s. 6d.

We owe to Professor James I. Good, D.D., a *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792*.¹ It supplies a want, and it supplies it well. Dr Good has already written some excellent volumes on the history of the Reformed Church of Germany, which have taken a good place among American contributions to ecclesiastical history. He has had it long in mind to write the history of the German Reformed Church in the United States, and he has been collecting materials for many years from many quarters. Switzerland, Germany, and England, have furnished much that has not been used before, and the archives of the Hague have yielded up the missing Coetus' Minutes together with a large correspondence. Most of the early history of the German Reformed Church in America is thus, the author believes, made clear.

His book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of ecclesiastical life and movements in the United States. It will be read with interest by many outside the limits of the writer's own church. It is written in a business-like, unpretentious style, and follows a simple and natural plan. Beginning with some well-drawn sketches of the forerunners of the German Reformed Church in Brazil, Florida, New Amsterdam, New York, and Carolina, it deals in succession with the period before congregational organisation (1710-1725); the Church under such organisation (1725-1747); the Church under Synodical government (1747-1755); the Coetus up to the Revolution (1755-1775), during the Revolution (1776-1783), and after it (1783-1793). Some appendices (on the first Reformed congregation in America, etc.) are added, and the book is brightened by occasional illustrations. Professor Good is to be congratulated on the successful completion of these studies.

The first half of the second volume of Professor Ferdinand Kattenbusch's elaborate study of the *Apostolic Symbol*² is to hand. It is projected on as large a scale as the former volume, and goes with extraordinary detail into the questions of the circulation and importance of the formulary. It deals first with the legends relating to the Symbol, and then prosecutes an exhaustive inquiry into all that bears upon it in the writings of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. It follows this up by discussions, no less elaborate and detailed, of the position the Symbol had in the East, and the traces which are formed of its origin and earliest history. All this is supplemented by special appendices on particular points. It is a book for the expert, showing an almost overwhelming industry and familiarity with details.

¹ Reading, P.A. : Daniel Miller, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii. 701.

² Das Apostolische Symbol, etc. Ein Beitrag zur Symbolik und Dogmengeschichte. Zweiter Band. Verbreitung und Bedeutung des Symbols. Erste Hälfte. Leipzig : Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 352. Price, M.11.

We are glad to see Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregel der alten Kirche*¹ in another edition. This third edition has been considerably improved and enlarged, and is brought thoroughly up to date. It is furnished with a useful Index. An Appendix is also contributed by Professor Harnack, giving a collection of materials for the history and explanation of the old Roman Symbol drawn from the Christian literature of the first two centuries. The painstaking work of the late Professor August Hahn, thus re-edited by Professor G. Ludwig Hahn, becomes even more useful than before to the student of Christian Doctrine in its Confessional forms.

The latest additions to the *Famous Scots Series* are each in its own way worthy to rank with the best of those that have preceded them. The sketch of *Professor Ferrier*² is done with much good sense as well as with the sincerest appreciation. It brings back to us the memory of a most attractive personality and a strong intellectual influence. It gives a remarkably good view of Ferrier's philosophical system. It helps those of a later generation to understand what many of an earlier time owed to his teaching, and why he deserves to be remembered among those who have left their mark on Scottish thought. It has a short Introduction by Mr R. B. Haldane, in which some just words are said in praise of Mrs Ferrier, "Christopher North's" gifted daughter. Where the book is most open to criticism is in what it says of Ferrier's candidatures. The authoress is quite at sea there. She gives an incorrect statement of the institution of certain Chairs in the New College, and she represents other people as objecting to Professor Macdougall as a man who would indoctrinate students of the Established Church in *Voluntary* principles. Her brother, too, snatches space enough in his three pages to have his fling at certain Scottish churches. The only churches he thus singles out are those which did most no doubt for him in his own candidature for a place in Parliament. Mr A. F. Murison, in his *King Robert the Bruce*,³ gives us an excellent companion volume to the one on Sir William Wallace. He has dipped deep into the original sources, and writes in a different strain from Barbour and Fordun. But while he applies a cool, critical mind to his subject and presents the great King now and again in another light than the traditional, he does not fail to bring out the grandeur of his figure and

¹ Herausgegeben von Dr August Hahn. Dritte vielfach veränderte und vermehrte Auflage von Dr G. Ludwig Hahn, ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Breslau. Breslau: Morgenstern; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. xvi. 412.

² James Frederick Ferrier. By E. S. Haldane. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 158. Price, 1s. 6d.

³ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 159. Price, 1s. 6d.

the greatness of his work. The book is one of marked ability, and helps us to see many things in Scotland's heroic age in better proportion. The volume on *Andrew Melville*¹ by Mr William Morison is also a very satisfactory performance. Mr Morison thoroughly understands the importance of the struggle in which Scotland was engaged between 1574 and 1688. He holds that history has amply justified Melville and his comrades in their conviction that the controversy they were engaged in was one of vital moment, and that its issue would decide whether the Scottish people should be "left in a position in which they would be able to develop their religious life with freedom and effect, or in one which would incalculably cripple it." He interprets Melville's career, therefore, in this spirit, and exhibits very powerfully the claims he has upon the honour of his countrymen in virtue of the ecclesiastic system he secured for them. The whole picture which he gives of the man, his gifts and his contendings, his services to education and to the Church, his experiences at home and abroad, at Glasgow, St Andrews, Hampton Court, and Sedan, is as full as it is vivid. "It is to men like Melville," as his closing words fitly express it, "who have a higher patriotism than that which is bounded by any earthly territory, whose country is the realm of Truth, whose loyalty transcends submission to any human sovereign, that every people owes its noblest heritage. Such are the men who have been the makers of Scotland. '*Sic fortis Etruria crevit.*'"

In the July number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* Dr James Lindsay of Kilmarnock has an interesting paper on *Religious Thought in Scotland in the Victorian Era*. The other articles include a good character sketch of Professor *Alvah Hovey*, a criticism of Kant's theory of the "Forms of Thought" by James B. Peterson, and suggestive statements on the *Catechumenate*, the *Mission Sunday School*, &c.

In the second number of the *Schweizerische Zeitschrift* for 1899, Dr Hadorn concludes his study on the subject of the *Historical Christ*, and G. Schönholzer his on the *Resurrection*. Among the other contributions we may refer to Pfarrer Hess's interesting selection, now completed, from the correspondence between Joh. Jakob Hess and Ignaz Romer.

In the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, among a number of papers suitable for the season of travel and holiday-making, Dr Dallinger's *Popular Notes on Science*, and two admirable and sympathetic articles by Dr Rigg on the late *Principal Henry Robert Reynolds* (in the July and August numbers), are of special interest and value. The *Guild Magazine*, the organ of the "Wesley Guild," also pro-

¹ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 156. Price, 1s. 6d.

vides much seasonable reading from month to month, under the discerning hand of Mr W. B. Fitzgerald, the editor.

In the *Revue de Theologie et des Questions religieuses* for July M. E. Arnaud continues his informing paper on the *Character of New Testament Greek*. There are also two papers of a doctrinal interest, one by M. J. de Visme on *What Jesus Thought of His Death*, and another by P.-F. Jalaguier on the *Mystical Union*.

The *New World* for June contains two instructive articles on the Jewish question, one by Miss Josephine Lazarus on *Zionism*, and another by Mr Gotthard Deutsch on the *National Movement among the Jews*. Professor James H. Hyslop of Columbia University balances the *pros* and *cons* in a paper on *Immortality and Psychological Research*, and Professor G. M. Stratton of the University of California writes an able paper on the *Psychological Evidence for Theism*. This latter paper takes up the argument of Professor James that the view of the world which the intellect furnishes must answer to our *volitional needs*, and that the only view of the world which offers an adequate object for these needs is the Theistic—the view that “the deepest power in the world is a personal mind who holds all good and righteous things dear, and whose personality is distinct from mine.” It professes to restate the case with the help of what Professor James has given, and that in the direction of laying special stress on our moral and religious interests. Theism, then, is presented as the reasonable view of the “world, not because our bodily actions are reflex, nor because we must have some object which will call out the full activities of our will, but because we must look at the world religiously. Worship and communion dominate our being and declare what the world is, in exactly the same way that the law of cause and effect does.” The *New Evangelical Catechism* is also subjected to a criticism that will surprise its framers at some points.

The July number of *Mind* opens with a translation by Mrs B. Bosanquet of a very able article by Dr Ferdinand Tönnies of Hamburg on *Philosophical Terminology*, to which was awarded the Welby prize of £50. The paper deals with the question of *signs*, natural and artificial, with language, social will, and signs through will ; with science and language ; with the classification of the forms of the social will, and with science as form of the social will. Dr Robert Latta writes of Spinoza and Leibnitz, touching on the agreements and differences between the two in scientific standpoint, the difference between their theories of knowledge, the influence of their views of mathematics on their philosophical attitude, &c. Mr Hastings Rashdall writes on the question, *Can there be a Sum of Pleasures?* He contests the doctrine that “pleasures cannot be summed, that there is no meaning in the idea of a sum of pleasures,

and that consequently the 'hedonistic calculus' is impossible and unintelligible." He takes the question as it is put in terms by Professor Mackenzie in his *Manual of Ethics* and his *Introduction to Social Philosophy*, and controverts the contentions of Professor T. H. Green and Mr Bradley. He takes first the case of pleasures of the same kind or quality, and then that of pleasures which differ in kind. By an acute train of reasoning, very clearly expressed, he seeks to disprove these three positions, viz. (1) that a sum of pleasures is not a possible object of desire; (2) that while the proposition *this pleasure is greater or more pleasant than that* has a meaning, the judgment is not quantitative; and (3) that even if one pleasure or sum of pleasures can be said to be greater in amount than another, numerical values cannot with any meaning be assigned to two pleasures or sums of pleasure; so that there can never be any meaning in the assertion, "this pleasure is twice as great as that."

The July number of the *International Journal of Ethics* is largely taken up with questions of education and training—*Good Citizenship* and *Athletics*, *Affection in Education*, &c. The opening paper, however, by Professor Watson of Queen's College, Kingston, is of a different kind. It deals with the *New "Ethical" Philosophy* particularly the Ethical idealism which is expounded by Professor A. Seth. This he takes to be a revival of an old theory, "the fundamental contradiction of which," he says, "has been repeatedly exposed"—the theory, for one thing, that knowledge is not ultimate, being only of "objects" or "phenomena." On this new philosophy he heaps a number of charges—that it unwarrantably mutilates the character of "experience"; that it confuses between the uncritical belief of civilised man in the rationality of the world and an explicit theory of life, &c. There is also a very readable paper by S. A. Barnett, of Toynbee Hall, on the *Mission of Music*, in which some good, though quite obvious, reasons are given, for the natural fitness of music to become the expression of the inner life.

The July number of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* opens with a paper by the Rev. Dr Meade C. Williams on the *Crisis in the Church of England*—a well-informed paper by one who has been closely following the recent developments. Dr Meade understands the very advanced party to be a minority, but thinks that the extremists plus those whose manifest trend is in their direction and those of the more moderate High Churchmen who, while disliking ritualistic extravagance, dislike still more any "interference under popular clamour with the dignity and development of the Church" make a majority as regards Clergy and Bishops, while the whole Low Church party and the mass of the laity are opposed to them. His closing words refer to the

bishops and the laity : "The bishops, goaded by popular sentiment, may be forced," he says, "into a more pronounced attitude of disapproval of the Romanising section. But I fear it will only be such as heals slightly the hurt of the daughter of Zion. The laity are not clothed with any authority in the affairs of their dioceses. They are represented, in respect to ecclesiastical authority in the National Church, only in the National Parliament. And it begins to look as if it is from that body that redress and correction of evils must finally come." Dr Daniel S. Gregory continues his critical examination of Herbert Spencer's philosophy, contending that the synthetical philosophy falls short of the requirements of the tests of completeness, or totality of sphere, structural or organic idea, and capacity to match the reality. This is followed by a paper by the Rev. John Oman on the *Text of the Minor Prophets*. It is a protest against the corrections which are made with so liberal a hand. "The vice of the specialist," says the writer, "has always been an excessive love for the lancet and the cautery, in forgetfulness of the general constitution of human nature." After reviewing four particular tests, viz., those of the Greek version, simplicity of meaning, sequence of ideas, and style, tone and temper of the prophet and his age, and showing what becomes of certain typical passages when these tests are applied, he brings the matter to an issue by exhibiting what would result if the critical methods which make such changes on the text of prophets were employed in the case of the conclusion of *Samson Agonistes*. The most elaborate article, however, is one by Professor Warfield on the terms, "*It says*," "*Scripture says*," "*God says*." It is a very exact and learned study of the terms used by the New Testament writers in dealing with the Old Testament. The passages are first noticed in which "Scripture" is identified with the speaking God. Those are next examined in which the subjectless λέγει or φησί is used, and the question of the *subauditum* in such cases is considered at length. The opinions of the leading grammarians and interpreters are fully stated and subjected to a very thorough criticism. The conclusion is that there is no warrant in Greek usage for taking λέγει, and but very little, if any, for taking φησί indefinitely in such connexions; that there may be room for difference of opinion as between ὁ θεός and ἡ γραφή as the subject to be understood; but that it makes no real difference, the two terms being practically the same, both being used under the force of "the conception of the Scriptures as an oracular book." The paper is one of great interest and wide research.

In recent issues of the *Expository Times* the controversy between Professors Jensen and Hommel on the Hittite Inscriptions proceeds,

and has some lively passages. In the August number Professor König begins his examination of Professor Margoliouth's very positive assertions on the subject of the "Original Hebrew" of Ecclesiasticus. The same number has a very clear and generally correct account of the present state of the problems of New Testament Criticism by Ada Bryson, M.A.

The American Journal of Theology has reached the third number of its third volume. It contains some very good critical and historical Notes. One of these is on the double text of Tobit, in which Professor Rendel Harris stands for the superiority of the Sinaitic Tobit, for the existence in it of elements derived from the Aramaic and for a "close literary parallelism between the two stories of Ahiḳar and Tobit." Professor Marvin R. Vincent of the Union Theological Seminary writes shortly on "Some Aspects of Paul's Theology in the Philippian Epistle." With M. Ménégoz he regards Phil. iii. 8-10 as the "most precise statement of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith," and interprets it as meaning that the righteousness of faith is a *real* righteousness in the believer. There are three longer articles. The first, which is by Professor Loofs of Halle, deals with the question *Has the Gospel of the Reformation become antiquated?* The answer given is that an "out-and-out fight for the gospel of the Reformation, and an equally determined fight against all obsolete tradition and dogma . . . would carry success with it in the modern world, such as no other watchword, whether traditionalistic or liberal, could hope for." President Genung of Richmond writes well on the subject of *Personality from the Monistic Point of View*. The longest paper is by Professor Karl Budde on the So-called "*Ebed Yahweh Songs*," and the meaning of the term "*Servant of Yahweh*" in *Isaiah, Chaps. 40-55*. The arguments urged in support of the view that the Ebed of the "Songs" cannot be the same servant that we find in Deutero-Isaiah, are particularly considered, and it is held that "everything becomes clear when we admit that the prophet has adhered throughout to his purpose of representing the people by the servant of Yahweh."

In the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* for July-October 1899 we notice specially papers of much interest by L. Maisonneuve on the Ideas of Frederick Nietzsche and V. Delau on *Palestinian Monasteries of the fifth century*.

Among other good papers in the *Biblical World* for July we have one (admirably illustrated) by R. F. Harper on *Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon*, another by Shailer Mathews on *Antiochus Epiphanes and the Jewish State*, and a third by Ira M. Price on *The Book of Daniel*, summarising opinion as it stands at present.

The Hulsean Lectures for 1891 are published now. Though late

in its appearance, the book is well worth having. The Lecturer is the Hon. A. T. Lyttelton, D.D., now Bishop of Southampton, and the subject is *The Place of Miracles in Religion*.¹ The first three chapters are given to a discussion of Miracles in the Old Testament, in the New Testament, and in the Early Church. The last chapter deals with miracles in relation to Modern Thought. 'Miracles' are defined in general terms as "occasional visible acts of power, beyond human experience to account for or human faculties to accomplish, though sometimes wrought through human agency; and these acts are impressed with the character of righteousness, and are therefore in accordance with the general lines of God's moral government of the world." With this idea of *miracle*, Dr Lyttelton proceeds with his inquiry, which is mainly historical. He distinguishes at the same time between miraculous events as he defines them and the supernatural generally. He points out also that the distinction which we naturally draw between "what we should call *miracles* and events in which we discern only the normal working of natural forces" was strange to Hebrew historians and prophets, and that our modern ideas of uniformity and law make it difficult for us to understand the treatment of miracles by men who saw in them only "the emergence into sensible experience of the Divine force which was all along controlling the course of nature." The Old Testament is declared to contain, in spite of all that criticism may do, a considerable number of properly miraculous events, and these are ably dealt with according to their several groups and characters. The statements on the subject of our Lord's miracles and the testimony to the existence of miracle in the Early Church are sensible and discriminating. The leading modern theories of miracle and its purpose are acutely examined. The insufficiency of the views of Butler, Paley, and Mozley is brought out modestly, yet distinctly, and it is made plain that the facts themselves lead us to a different conception of miracles, which is itself connected with a different conception of what the Christian Revelation is. Christianity is rightly conceived to be the revelation of a Person, not simply, as Paley construed it, of certain doctrines. And *miracles* are not merely the attestations of certain doctrines, but integral parts of the Christian revelation, and things, consequently, which have to be "considered first and foremost in relation to the whole historical series of events, and not to the doctrines based on them, or to the process of belief in them." The book contains many good observations, and gives a lucid and persuasive representation of the view of miracles which is characteristic of the best Apologetics of the present time.

¹ London: John Murray, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 150.

Mr Tyler's *Ecclesiastes*¹ attracted considerable attention and also much criticism when it was published a quarter of a century ago. We are glad to see it now in a new edition. Its distinctive feature was its argument in support of the position that Koheleth was influenced by Greek philosophy. The influence of Aristotle was detected in ch. ii. 3, vii. 27, xii. 13; the influence of the Stoics, especially in the paragraphs on the Times and Seasons, and in such passages as ch. i. 5-7, 9-10, 11, vii. 14, etc., viii. 2-5, etc.; that of the Epicurean conception of life in ch. v. 18-20, etc. This is re-asserted in the present issue. It will be felt now, as it was felt then, probably to be overdriven. But it will be less criticised. And apart from that, the book, especially in this re-written form, has much valuable matter relating not only to the authorship, date, and integrity of the book, but to its ideas, its reception into the Canon, its relations to Job, Psalms, and the Prophets; its connexion with Jewish history, etc. This carefully revised edition, therefore, is very welcome.

We are indebted to the Master of St John's College, Cambridge, for a very useful volume on *The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels*.² It is a timely, reliable and remarkably lucid digest of the literature which has arisen on the subject of these interesting *Logia*. It is made the more valuable by the appended section which points us to some suggestive parallels in the Egyptian Gospel and other Apocryphal Gospels. With regard to the reading which has been called in question in Logion II., Dr Taylor seems inclined to accept Mr Bartlet's suggestion of 'Kingdom of *Jesus*' instead of 'Kingdom of *God*' or 'Kingdom of *heaven*.' There is much to be said for this. The contraction indeed would be an unusual one, and there would be a certain awkwardness in having a Logion on 'the Kingdom of *Jesus*' introduced by the formula '*Jesus* saith.' But the form as it appears in the Photograph seems to us to favour the suggestion. On the *Sources* of the Logia Dr Taylor expresses himself in very measured terms. "What remains of Logion I. may be an extract," he says, "from one of the Synoptic Gospels, and others of the Logia may be developments from one or more of the Four Gospels; or the Logia may all be extracts from some other writing or writings, which agreed more or less nearly in places with the Canonical Gospels." On the relation in which these Logions stand to the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, Dr Taylor does not venture beyond the statement of two possibilities—either that the Oxyrhynchus Logia were all contained in that

¹ *Ecclesiastes*. . An Introduction to the Book; an exegetical analysis; and a translation with Notes. By Thomas Tyler, M.A. A new edition. London: D. Nutt, 1899. 8vo, pp. x. 167. Price, 6s. net.

² By Walter Charles Taylor, D.D. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 104. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

Gospel, or that they "were severally extracted or evolved from the canonical and other writings."

The Book of Job, with Introductions and Notes,¹ by Edgar C. S. Gibson, D.D., Vicar of Leeds and Prebendary of Wells, belongs to the new series of Oxford Commentaries of which Professor Walter Lock is editor. This series is intended to occupy a place between the *Cambridge Bible for Schools* and the *International Critical Commentary*. It is to be less elementary than the former, less didactic than the latter. It takes the English text in the Revised Version as its basis, and aims at combining a "hearty acceptance of critical principles with loyalty to the Catholic Faith." It is to have the stamp in short of the scholarly, liberal wing of Dogmatic Anglicanism, and is to "interpret the meaning of each book of the Bible in the light of modern knowledge to English readers."

A series of commentaries projected on this basis cannot fail to show the marks of its mint when certain questions of Church and dogma come up. But in the present case these have little opportunity to thrust themselves in, and Dr Gibson's volume satisfies the conditions of the series in a way that should secure for it a good reception beyond the Anglican limits. It is indeed very well done. The Introduction is concise and to the point. The considerations which point to a relatively late date (the later years of the Kingdom or the Babylonish Captivity, as Dr Gibson thinks) are carefully and forcibly stated. The notes and the paraphrases of the text show a good exegetical faculty and a competent acquaintance with the literature of the subject. The exposition of chapters xiv.-xix., and particularly the summary of the great paragraph, xix. 23-27, are excellent specimens of scholarly interpretation expressed in terms suited to all classes of readers. He takes the sense to be that Job's Vindicator, *as one coming after him*, shall stand upon the dust in which the sufferer shall soon be laid, and establish his innocence after he has passed away. He regards the passage, therefore, as showing that "Job has fought his way to a new belief, and has reached the conviction that after death he shall be granted a vision of God," and meets the objections to this view of it which have been drawn from a supposed inconsistency between this and the sufferer's former utterances, and from the difficulty of supposing that, if such an assurance had been reached, there should be no allusion to it in what remains of the drama. As to the speeches of Elihu, Dr Gibson thinks it "more than doubtful" whether the section containing them comes from the same hand as the rest of the poem. He finds probable motives for the introduction of these speeches

¹ London: Methuen & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. xxx. 236. Price, 6s.

in the desire to rebuke the lack of reverence which Job had manifested, and to give fuller expression to the disciplinary purpose of suffering. As this latter view of suffering is but faintly indicated in the poem itself, he deems it probable that some later writer introduced these chapters in order to give it a more prominent place. On this supposition the section is a witness of the writer's skill in making the addition without breaking the unity of the book. "He has linked on the speeches," says Dr Gibson, "to the earlier part by frequent quotations from Job's speeches, and has thus made it appear that Elihu has been a silent listener to the whole argument, and he has connected it with what follows by making the last speech of Elihu appear to be influenced by the gathering storm, out of which the Lord answers Job immediately afterwards." These are fair examples of the way in which the problems of the book are handled in this very useful commentary.

Mr Askwith's book on *The Epistle to the Galatians*,¹ an expansion of the Norrisian Prize Essay on "The Locality of the Churches of Galatia," is seen at once to be the work of a genuine scholar and a clear thinker. It is a contribution of more than usual worth to the interpretation of the Epistle. It is independent and discriminating, fair and without bias, careful and cogent in its reasoning. Mr Askwith knows how to distinguish where distinction is of moment. He points out very well, for instance, how three things which are apt to be dealt with together, are really separate subjects that are best treated separately. These are the South Galatian theory, the Antiochene dating of the Galatian Epistle, and the identification of the visit of Gal. ii. with the earlier of the two visits in the Acts. He directs his own attention first to the question of the destination of the Epistle and then to that of its date. He agrees with Professor Ramsay as to the former, but with Bishop Lightfoot as to the latter. The detailed examination of the use of the term *Γαλατικός* in Acts xvi. 6, xviii. 23, and of the force of the participial clause in the former passage, is of special value. The conclusion is that, whether we read *διελθόντες* or *διήλθον* in xvi. 6, *Γαλατικός* is used in a political sense in the phrase *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, and that the *κωλυθέντες* is not retrospective but predicative. Admitting that the arguments used here in support of the latter position have their force, we do not feel that the difficulty of so dealing with the first aorist participle is quite removed. On the question of the date, which is shown to be independent of the

¹ An Essay upon its destination and date. With an Appendix on the Visit to Jerusalem recorded in Chapter ii. By E. H. Askwith, M.A., Chaplain, and formerly Scholar, of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 153. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

question of the destination, Mr Askwith rejects Professor Ramsay's view of the sense of the οὕτως τάχως and others of his positions, and prefers Bishop Lightfoot's reasoning on the relative dates of the four Epistles of the third missionary journey, arranging them so—1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans. In an Appendix Mr Askwith presents an able argument on behalf of the identification of the visit to Jerusalem recorded in Gal. ii. with that of Acts xv. This identification he holds at the same time to be no impediment in the way of the South Galatian theory.

Erwin Rohde's *Psyche*¹ was published in 1890-94. It was at once recognised as a work of marked ability and a weighty contribution to the history of Greek thought and custom. It is a satisfaction to see it now in a second edition. It has been thoroughly revised and brought up to date by its careful and laborious author. It is full of learning, but also rich in thought. Herr Rohde is much more than a collector of facts. He uses his facts with scientific precision and philosophical insight. His book is of great value for its ideas as well as for its matter. Students who turn to it will not be disappointed. On many of the questions which it handles we have nothing better than Herr Rohde's work, and not much to equal it.

It has much curious and carefully sifted material relating to ritual, purifications, forms of incantation, soothsaying, witchcraft, prophesying, conditions of ecstasy, funeral customs, modes of honour and worship rendered to the dead, the various beliefs in demons, deities of the under worlds, and the like. This is all made contributory to its main purpose, which is the history of the ideas which prevailed among the Greek people on the subject of the soul. It takes us into important and interesting inquiries into the conceptions which were current on the questions of the origin, nature, powers, and destiny of the soul, the forms of the *cultus* of souls or spirits, the idea of Islands of the Blessed, and the varied course which Hellenic opinion and faith ran on the problem of a future existence from Homer and the Heroic age down to the later philosophers. This is the primary interest of the book, and the author has laid us under great obligations by the scientific account he has given us.

His statements on the Mysteries, the Cult of the Thracian Dionysus, the Orphic Circles, the speculations of Plato and his successors, and other subjects, are of great value. But the most interesting sections of his book are those which deal with Homer, the Tragic Poets, and Pindar. In his exposition of the ideas found

¹ Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig u. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo. Erster Band, pp. vii. 329; Zweiter Band, pp. iii. 436. Price, M.20.

in the Homeric poems he points out that we have to distinguish between those that represent the mind or minds that produced the poetry and the ruder popular beliefs which come to the surface now and again in the poems. He is of opinion that Hesiod's conception of the souls of the men of the gold and silver ages continuing to live and act after death in the form of *δαίμονες* attaches itself to the popular beliefs and is an outgrowth of it ; that the same explanation is to be given of the worship of the Heroes ; and that the honours paid to the souls of the dead generally which come on after the Homeric period were a natural development of the veneration of select departed ones which is seen in the Hesiodic poetry—a development in which pre-Homeric ideas revived, but which had not its point of issue in the Homeric thought proper. He indicates very clearly, too, the resemblances and the differences between the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Orphic Circles in their relation to the faith in a future existence. Dramatic representation, not any secret doctrine, was the distinctive theory in the former. In the latter again, the characteristic theory was a theosophic doctrine, which held the soul to be a divine element in man, destined to achieve its deliverance from the body in the way of ascetic discipline and transmigration. With regard to the general question of the attitude of the Greek mind to the faith in a future life Herr Rohde's conclusion is that anything like a proper faith in the immortality of the soul had at its best a limited and insecure hold on the popular mind ; that the original Greek ideas on the subject did not go beyond the general conception of some kind of continuance for the soul after death ; and that the belief in *immortality* in the proper sense of the word, so far as the Greeks had it, came to them from without through the ideas connected with the Cultus of the Thracian Dionysus.

The ninth volume of the fifth series of *The Expositor*,¹ so efficiently conducted by Dr W. Robertson Nicoll, contains, as usual, many articles of importance and of various interest—some smaller exegetical studies, such as Mr Barnard's Notes on Acts ix. 19 ff., Dr Barnes's Study of Psalm cxxxvii., and Professor Cheyne's on the Amminadab of Canticles, the criticism of certain Psalms, and the Priesthood of David's Sons ; a number of papers of a more popular cast, such as Dr Monro Gibson's Apocalyptic Sketches, and Dr John Watson's expositions of Grace, Repentance, Forgiveness, and Regeneration ; and a paper by Professor Jannaris on Errors of Interpretation in the New Testament, which deserves notice. Principal Robertson has a very good series of Studies in the Epistle to the Romans. Professor Robinson examines current theories of the genesis of the book of Deuteronomy. And, not to mention others, we have a further instalment of Professor W. M.

¹ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

Ramsay's very suggestive "Historical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians"; and a paper by the same hand on the Date and Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, leading up to the view that the Epistle was written in April or May, A.D. 59, and that it was "the epistle of the Church in Caesarea to the Jewish party of the Church in Jerusalem," this implying that "the writer, practically speaking, was Philip the Deacon (Acts xxi. 8)."

The first two volumes of the *Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'Histoire ecclésiastique* give the promise of a very valuable series. M. Paul Allard writes on *Le Christianisme et l'empire Romain de Néron à Théodose*,¹ and M. Pierre Batiffol on *Anciennes Littératures Chrétiennes—la Littérature Grecque*.² They are both exceedingly well done, giving reliable, useful, and even brilliant digests of their subjects. M. Batiffol follows so far the method of Gustav Krüger, but improves upon it. He has also the advantage of a much better style. His book shows much independence of judgment, though he has always before him the conclusions of Harnack, Duchesne and other authorities. Among the most interesting sections are those on Lucian of Antioch, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Hippolytus. He holds for Caius as the author of the *Philosophoumena*. He is not satisfied with any of the explanations given by Lightfoot, Harnack and others of the ὁδαὶ εἰς πάσας τὰς γραφάς (mentioned on the back of the chair of the marble statue of Hippolytus), and offers a suggestion of his own. It is to read not ὁδαί but σπουδαί, in which case the words would refer to the commentaries of Hippolytus as the Scriptures. He thinks Aberkios was a Christian. He rejects the books against Apollinaris attributed to Athanasius, and is of opinion that Methodius was bishop not of Tyre, but probably of Olympus. This important and well planned series could not be better introduced than by these two volumes.

Mr Thomas Bailey Saunders gives us a volume on *The Quest of Faith, being Notes on the current philosophy of religion*.³ The writers who are reviewed are those who, whatever judgment may be ultimately formed of the intrinsic value of their writings, have been, or are sufficiently prominent in the public eye to "exercise a large influence on the formation of public opinion." They include such men as Huxley, Mr A. J. Balfour, Professor A. Campbell Fraser, the Duke of Argyll, Professor Henry Drummond, Mr Gladstone, Mr W. S. Lilly, Mr Wilfrid Ward, and Mr Beattie Crozer. It is doubtful whether all these writers exercise the kind of influence which Mr Saunders has in view. But they are all

¹ Paris: Lecoffre. Small crown 8vo, pp. 303.

² Paris: Lecoffre. Small crown 8vo, pp. xvi. 347.

³ London: Adam & Charles Black, 1899. 8vo, pp. 191. Price, 7s. 6d.

worth notice, and on each of these Mr Saunders has something to say that is worth considering, however limited one's sympathy may be with a good many things in his book. The general effect of the book is to make too much of the unsettlement of religious opinion, and too little of the return to faith which is a happy and unmistakable fact of the present. Mr Saunders sees, however, that things now are by no means what they were when Huxley began to write; that "the demands of science have been modified by the objections of philosophy," if the "claims of traditional religion have been modified by the demands of science;" and that "the attitude of blank denial" in regard to religion is "not so familiar a possibility now as used to be the case when the Darwinian hypothesis, in the vigour of its youth, was sweeping all before it." The criticism of Mr Balfour's *Foundations of Belief* turns somewhat on the doubtful use of terms, "naturalism," "authority," and others. It is directed also against an exaggeration of the non-rational elements which is involved in Mr Balfour's account of things and against the legitimacy of drawing from the general argument a special conclusion in favour of ordinary Christian orthodoxy. With regard to the Theistic argument, Mr Saunders takes the criteria of truth to be furnished by human nature, *man* being in "a sense profounder than was dreamt of by the old Greek sceptic *the measure all things*." A Theism founding on man's moral nature, therefore, cannot but come to some such conception of God as that of a Personal Being, whatever the difficulties may be to pure reason. And on the whole question, Mr Saunders's position appears to be that the Theistic view of the universe may involve insoluble problems, but, that it nevertheless finds its "final sanction" in the fact that without it we are reduced to a condition of unreason and despair.

The sixth volume of the English translation of Harnack's *History of Dogma*¹ is by the hand of the Rev. William M'Gilchrist, B.D. The translation is from the third German edition, and is on the whole fairly well done. It reads stiffly in the longer sentences, the explanation of which lies in part at least in the attempt to give a literal rendering of all the German particles. Professor Harnack's style, it must be said however, is not very easy to turn into flowing English. The volume corresponds to chapters vii., viii. of Part II., Book II. of the original. It deals with two important subjects on which Harnack has much to say, viz., the "Expansion and Remodelling of Dogma into a Doctrine of Sin, Grace, and Means of Grace on the Basis of the Church," and the "History of Dogma in the Period of the Mendicant Monks on till the Beginning of the

¹ London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. xiv. 317. Price, 10s. 6d.

Sixteenth Century." It contains some of Harnack's best and most characteristic work.

We have his views here of such movements and institutions as the Crusades, the Mendicant Orders, Scholasticism, Mysticism, &c., and such men as Anselm, Abelard, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Peter Lombard, &c. The book is certainly full of interest, and has much to suggest even when it does not constrain our agreement. The best thing in it seems to us to be the history and estimate of the Doctrine of the Sacraments. The whole Scholastic conception is admirably handled. With an erudition and an acumen that never fail, Professor Harnack shows at length how the Schoolmen's doctrine had its roots in Augustin's; in what way it went beyond that doctrine formally and materially; how the number *seven* was developed; how the idea of the Sacraments was revised by Hugo of St Victor, so that they became vehicles and "causes" of sanctification; how many questions of detail were raised and how different the answers were that were given by the Thomists on the one hand and the Scotists on the other. The doctrine of transubstantiation is reviewed with particular care in the light of its origin, its history, and its consequences. Among its results, which are pronounced to have been both "manifold and of radical importance," these are mentioned — the discontinuance of child-communion; the increase of the dignity of the priest, by whom "daily Christ was magically produced and offered up"; the withholding of the cup; and the adoration of the elevated host.

Another part of the book to which one turns with expectation is the one that deals with Anselm and his doctrine of Satisfaction. Here, too, we have a somewhat elaborate statement, supported by abundant references and incisive in its criticism. The point at which Anselm's doctrine came in, the ideas which it set aside as erroneous, and its own novelty and importance, are very clearly explained. Its excellences and its defects are given at some length, the balance being heavily on the latter side. Nevertheless, we miss much. Though Professor Harnack has something to say, for example, on Anselm's view of sin as *guilt*, he does not seem to give that the place it ought to have in any complete estimate of Anselm's view of the Atonement. His statement on the relation of Anselm's doctrine to the idea of *penalty* leaves something to be desired. And he drives matters much too hard when he speaks of Anselm's theory as involving a "mythological conception of God," and a "quite Gnostic antagonism between justice and goodness." The historical importance of Anselm's doctrine, however, is abundantly acknowledged. What he did was to construct first of all a *theory* both of the necessity of the incarnation and of the necessity of Christ's death. This he did, according to Professor Harnack, by "making

principle of penance the fundamental scheme of religion in the general."

Dr William Newton Clarke gives us a small, but very readable volume on the question, *What shall we think of Christianity?*¹ It consists of a series of three popular lectures on the "Christian People," the "Christian Doctrine," and the "Christian Power." They are written with all the ease and perspicuity which have made his *Outline of Christian Theology* so favourably known. They are broad and generous in their views of men and things. The character, unity, and mission of the Christian people are eloquently expounded. The three things which the Christian people are required to do by the nature of their Christianity are these—to "hold their faith, to open their minds, and to expand their hearts." The Christian doctrine is a doctrine with a high ethical demand. And that demand is beginning to be fulfilled because there is the "power" in Christianity that makes moral victory attainable. These addresses make delightful reading, and are worthy of the lectureship founded by Mr Eugene Levering.

Professor Kautzsch proceeds apace with his edition of the *Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books of the Old Testament*.² We have in our hands now two further instalments, including part seventh to part fourteenth. About half of the undertaking, therefore, is already completed. These two parts take us over the additions to Esther, the Epistle of Jeremiah, the Book of Baruch, Ben-Sira, the Letter of Aristeas, the Book of Jubilees, the Martyrdom of the Prophet Isaiah, and part of the Introduction to the Psalms of Solomon. The translations are made as literal as possible. They read well, nevertheless. The Introductions are models of concise, comprehensive statement. The brief account which is given of the various views of the *Book of Jubilees* is one of the best examples of that. One turns naturally with peculiar interest at present to what is said of *Ben-Sira*. Here we find the case of the text brought down not only to the publications of Cowley and Neubauer's *The Original Hebrew of a portion of Ecclesiasticus*, but to the more recent utterances of Messrs Taylor, Schechter, and others, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* last year, and the appearance of

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 157. Price, 2s. 6d.

² Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments, in Verbindung mit Lic. Beer, Professor Blass, &c., übersetzt und herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch, Professor der Theologie in Halle. Siebente bis zehnte Lieferung, pp. 193-320; elfte bis vierzehnte Lieferung, pp. 1-128. Freiburg i. B.: Leipzig u. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1899. Price, M.2 each.

J. Lévi's Commentary (Paris, 1898). Professor Margoliouth's theory of the metrical form of the book is not overlooked. The objections urged against it by such scholars as Driver, Cheyne, and Nöldeke are referred to; as is also the fact that it is not borne out by the newly discovered fragments, the value of which Professor Margoliouth is naturally so anxious to disprove. The student will find most that he wants in this most scholarly edition.

A translation of König's treatise on *Isaiah XL.-LXVI.*¹ is very welcome. The book is a valuable one, both for the view which it gives of opinion on these chapters and for the contribution which the author himself makes to their interpretation. It contains a great deal of matter, compactly and clearly stated, so that the reader is put in possession of the things which it concerns him most to know on the long drawn out discussion on the unity, date and place of composition. The fourth chapter, which deals with the *ideas* of the book, will naturally be of greatest interest to most. It expounds in a very lucid way the various grounds of consolation offered in these chapters to Israel pining in captivity, and finds in the connexion and natural succession of ideas in these great words of comfort an argument for the substantial unity of the book. The volume closes with an acute and detailed criticism of the arguments used by Ley, Duhm, Gressmann and Cheyne in favour of much or all being of post-exilic date. The statements on the 'Servant' sections, and especially those on chapter liii., will repay careful consideration. The great want of the volume is a summary view. We are apt to lose ourselves in details. Something of this is due to the fact that the larger part of the book appeared originally in the form of articles in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*. All has been carefully revised, however, and the best that can be said for the more conservative view of *Deutero-Isaiah* is said here briefly and pointedly. The translation is admirably done, as we might reckon on from Mr Selbie.

We have also to notice a *Sermon* by Dr George William Douglas, delivered on the occasion of the ordination of Dr Briggs and Mr Snedeker in the Pro-Cathedral, New York, and dealing with the question of what 'authority' means and is;² the second part of the eighteenth volume of the *Analecta Bollandiana*, in which the most important thing is the *Traité des Miracles de S. François d'Assise*

¹ The Exiles' Book of Consolation contained in Isaiah XL.-LXVI. A Critical and Exegetical Study, by Ed. König, M.A., D.D., Professor at the University of Rostock. Translated from the German, by Rev. J. A. Selbie, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 218. Price, 3s. 6d.

² London: Macmillan & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899. Small crown 8vo, pp. 32. Price, 1s.

par le B. Thomas de Celano;¹ the New Testament part of Professor R. G. Moulton's *Bible Stories*,² being the completion of the children's series of the *Modern Reader's Bible*, inviting in form, and furnished with suitable Introduction and Notes; a collection of School Sermons, under the title of *High Aims at School*,³ by the Headmaster of Allhallows School, Honiton, with a Preface by the Headmaster of Rugby—concise, clear, pointed addresses on Purity of Heart, Evil Influence, Poverty and Riches, and other practical subjects; a Poem by Robert Thomson,⁴ which will be read with pleasure, setting forth in musical terms and with an imaginative power which here and there produces good effects, the fellowship between Christ and His Church under the figure of a Bridegroom and his Bride; the third thousand of Mr R. Waddy Moss's *From Malachi to Matthew*,⁵ an excellent piece of work, giving a very instructive and readable outline of the history of Judaea in the Persian, Greek and Syrian periods, and through the stirring times of the Maccabees on to Herod the Great. The first part of the eighteenth volume of Holtzmann and Krüger's welcome and most useful *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,⁶ containing the literature of Biblical Exegesis for 1898—an invaluable guide for the student; *Learning and Working*⁷—a series of short practical sermons by Charles Whittuck, M.A., Rector of Bear Wood, Berks, arranged under the four general titles of "Possibilities and Limitations," "Laying the Foundations," "Spiritual Helps," and "Progressive Experiences"; a study of Luther's doctrine of the *Holy Spirit*,⁸ in which Lic. Rudolf Otto, Privatdozent in the University of Göttingen, brings together the various passages in Luther's works bearing on the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit, arranging them, exhibiting the original elements in them, and defining their dogmatic value—a painstaking and useful book; some further instalments

¹ Bruxelles: 14 Via Dicta des Ursuline, 1899. 8vo, pp. 113-256.

² New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 130. Price, 2s. 6d.

³ By the Rev. R. A. Byrde, M.A. London: Elliot Stock, 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 134. Price, 3s. 6d.

⁴ The Heavenly Bridegroom. London: Elliot Stock, 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 93.

⁵ London: Charles H. Kelly, 1899. Small crown 8vo, pp. xiv. 256. Price, 2s. 6d.

⁶ Achtzehnter Band. Enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres, 1898. Erste Abtheilung: Exegese, Bearbeitet von Siegfried und Holtzmann. Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn. London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 190. Price, M.9

⁷ London: James Parker & Co., 1899. Crown 8vo, pp. viii. 176.

⁸ Die Anschauung vom heiligen Geist bei Luther. Eine historisch-dogmatische Untersuchung von Lic. Rudolf Otto. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 106. Price M.2.80.

of the valuable series of documents bearing on the history of Zwingli and the Reformation, issued under the title of *Zwingliana*,¹ in which some interesting family papers and some curious illustrations are given, together with some Articles on Zwingli as a politician and as a public speaker.

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